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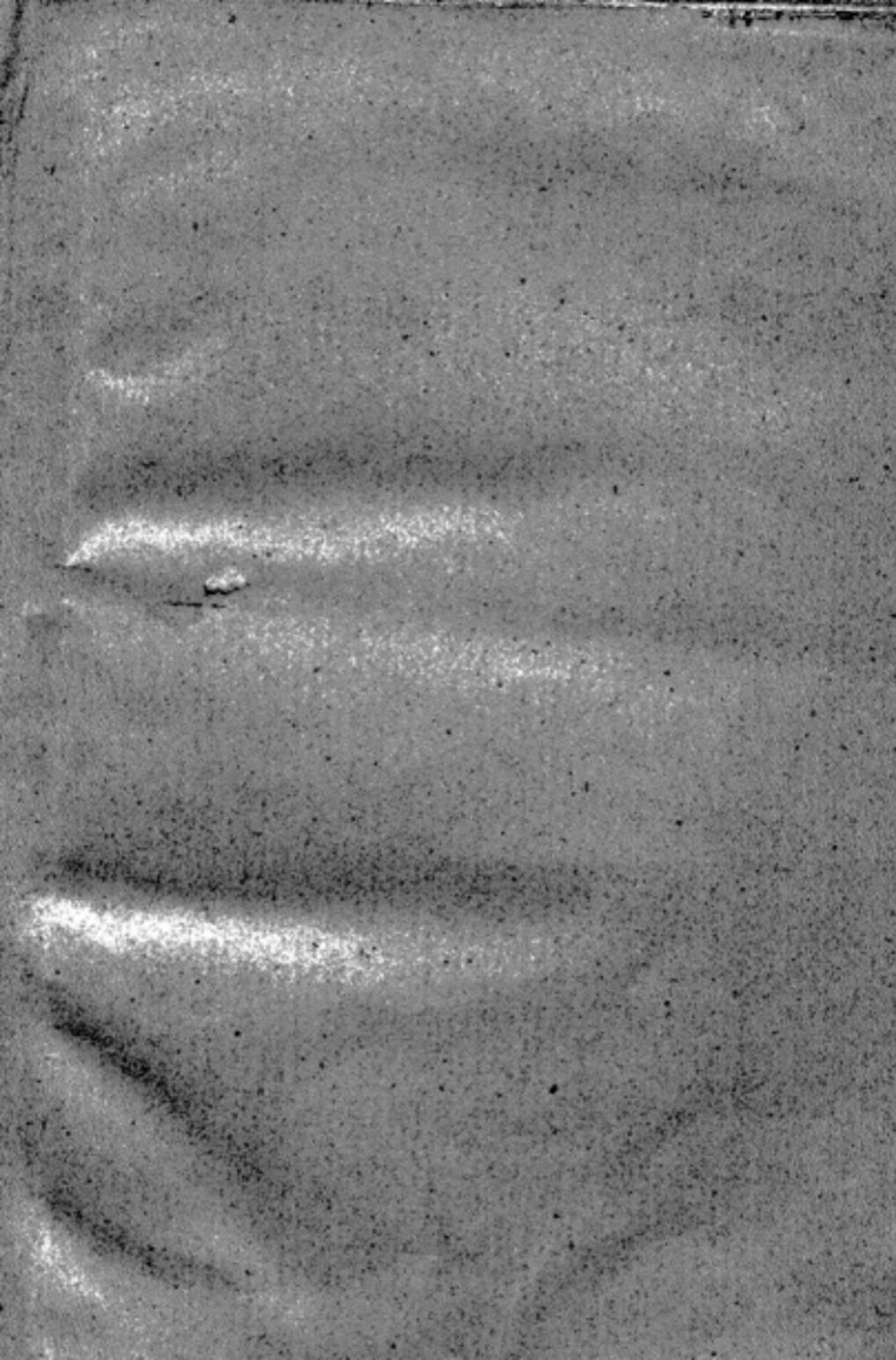
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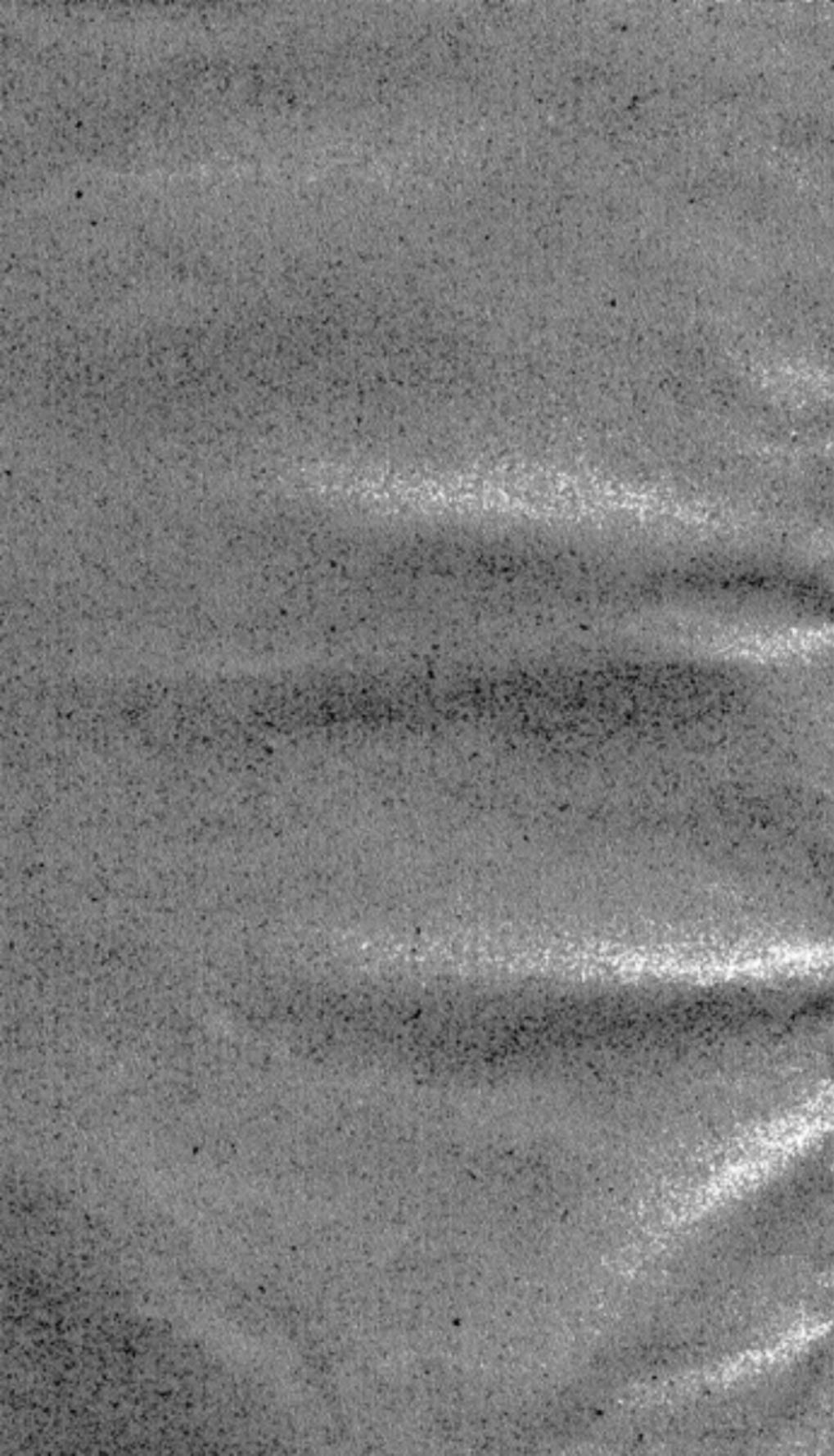
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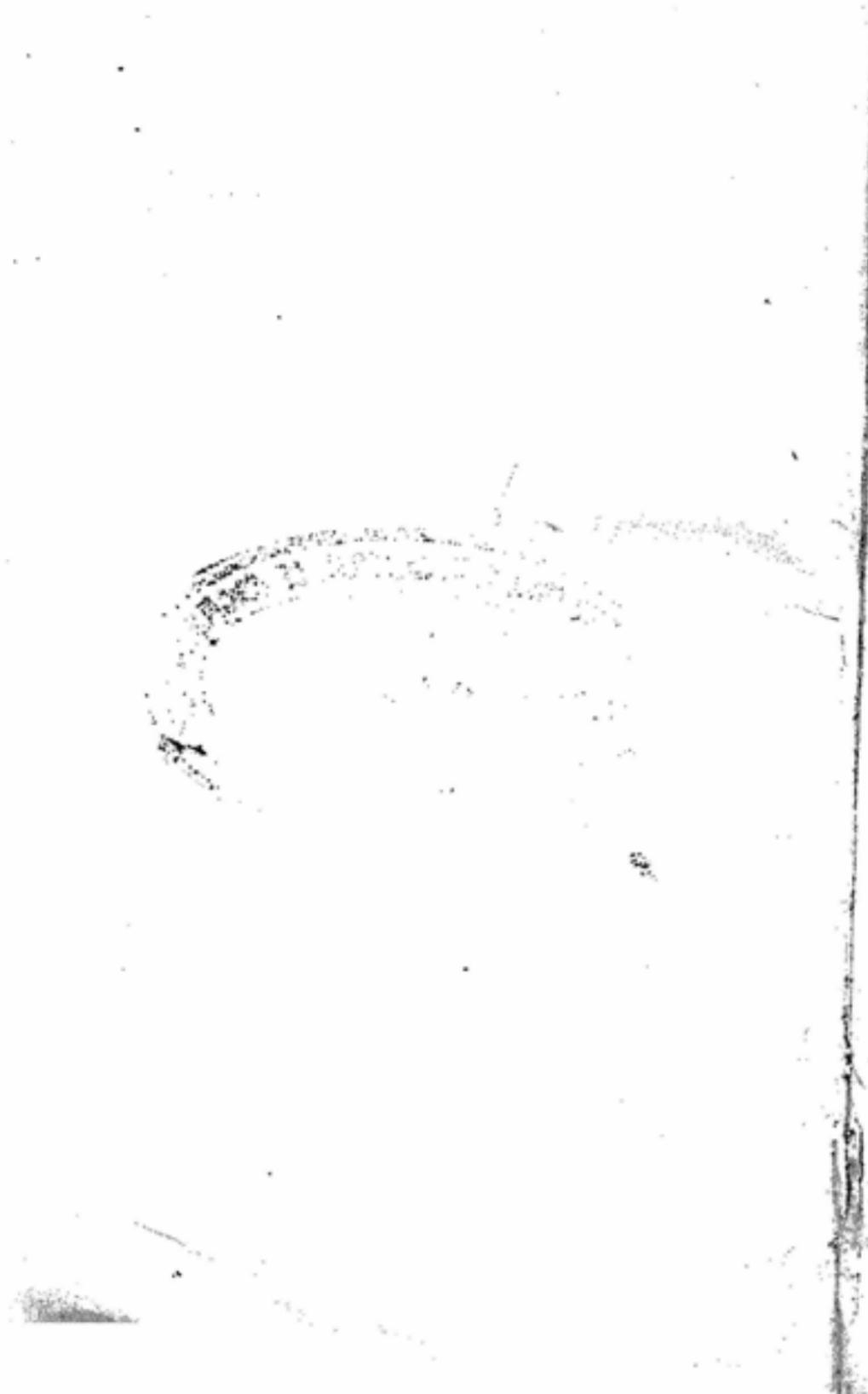


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XENOPHON'S CYROPAEDIA

II





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XENOPHON CYROPAEDIA

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
WALTER MILLER

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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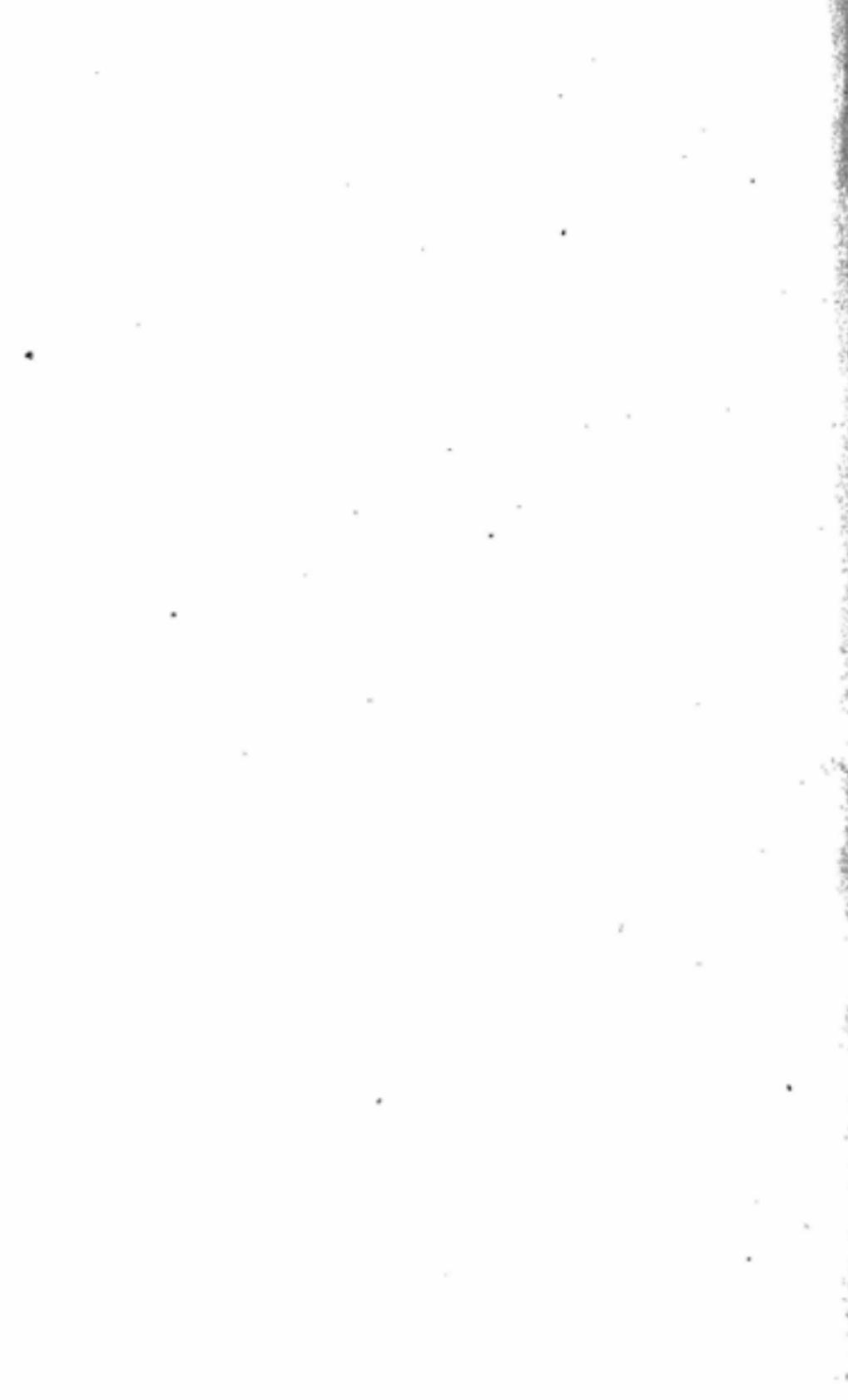
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XENOPHON'S CYROPAEDIA

BOOK V

GOBRYAS AND GADATAS

E

I

1. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραξάν τε καὶ ἐλεξαν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τὰ μὲν Κυαξάρου ἐκέλευσε διαλαβόντας φυλάττειν οὓς ἦδει οἰκειοτάτους αὐτῷ ὄντας· καὶ ὅσα ἐμοὶ δίδοτε, ἡδέως, ἔφη, δέχομαι· χρήσεται δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑμῶν ὁ ἀεὶ μάλιστα δεόμενος.

Φιλόμουσος δέ τις τῶν Μῆδων εἶπε, Καὶ μὴν ἐγώ, ὡς Κῦρε, τῶν μουσουργῶν ἀκούσας ἐσπέρας ὃν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις, ἥκουσά τε ἡδέως κανὸν μοι δῷς αὐτῶν μίαν, στρατεύεσθαι ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἥδιον ἡ οἴκοι μένειν.

Οὐ δὲ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ δίδωμι σοι καὶ χάριν οἷμαι σοὶ πλείω ἔχειν ὅτι ἐμὲ ἥτησας ἢ σὺ ἐμοὶ ὅτι λαμβάνεις· οὕτως ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς διψῶ χαρίζεσθαι.

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν ἔλαβεν ὁ αἰτήσας.

2. Καλέσας δὲ ὁ Κῦρος Ἀράσπαν Μῆδον, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ παιδὸς ἐταῖρος, φέρει τὴν στολὴν ἐκδὺς ἔδωκε τὴν Μηδικήν, ὅτε παρὰ Ἀστυάγους εἰς Πέρσας ἀπήγει, τοῦτον ἐκέλευσε διαφυλάξαι αὐτῷ

BOOK V

I

1. Such were their words and deeds. Then Cyrus ordered the men whom he knew to be Cyaxares's most intimate friends to divide among themselves the keeping of the king's portion of the booty. "And what you offer me," he added, "I accept with pleasure; but it shall always be at the service of any one of you who at any time is most in need of it."

"If you please, then, Cyrus," said one of the Medes who was fond of music, "when I listened last evening to the music-girls whom you now have, I was entranced; and if you will give me one of them, I should, I think, be more happy to go to war with you than to stay at home."

"Well," said Cyrus, "I will not only give her to you, but I believe that I am under greater obligation to you for your asking than you to me for receiving her; so thirsty am I to do you favours."

So he that asked received her.

2. Then Cyrus called to him Araspas, a Mede, who had been his friend from boyhood—the same one to whom he had given his Median robe when he laid it off as he was returning from Astyages's court to Persia—and bade him keep for him both the lady

τήν τε γυναικα καὶ τὴν σκηνήν· 3. ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀβραδάτου τοῦ Σουσίου· ὅτε δὲ ἡδίσκετο τὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων στρατόπεδον, ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὥν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τῶν Βακτρίων βασιλέα πρεσβεύων φύχετο· ἔπειμψε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσσύριος περὶ συμμαχίας· ξένος γὰρ ὅν ἐτύγχανε τῷ τῶν Βακτρίων βασιλεῖ· ταύτην οὖν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κῦρος διαφυλάττειν τὸν Ἀράσπαν, ἵνας ἀν αὐτὸς λάβῃ. 4. κελευόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀράσπας ἐπήρετο, ‘Εώρακας δ’, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, τὴν γυναικα, ἦν με κελεύεις φυλάττειν;

Μὰ Δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐκ ἔγωγε.

‘Αλλ’ ἔγώ, ἔφη, ήνίκα ἐξηροῦμέν σοι αὐτήν· καὶ δῆτα, ὅτε μὲν εἰσήλθομεν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῆς, τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διέγνωμεν αὐτήν· χαμαί τε γὰρ ἐκάθητο καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι πᾶσαι περὶ αὐτήν· καὶ τοίνυν ὁμοίαν ταῖς δούλαις εἶχε τὴν ἐσθῆτα· ἐπεὶ δὲ γνῶναι βουλόμενοι ποία εἴη ἡ δέσποινα πάσας περιεβλέψαμεν, ταχὺ πάνυ καὶ πασῶν ἐφαίνετο διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων, καίπερ καθημένη κεκαλυμμένη τε καὶ εἰς γῆν ὁρώσα. 5. ὡς δὲ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὴν ἐκελεύσαμεν, συνανέστησαν μὲν αὐτῇ ἅπασαι αἱ ἀμφ’ αὐτήν, διήνεγκε δ’ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μεγέθει, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ εὐσχημοσύνῃ καίπερ ἐν ταπεινῷ σχήματι ἐστηκύια. δῆλα δ’ ἦν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ δάκρυα στάζοντα, τὰ μὲν κατὰ τῶν πέπλων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας. 6. ὡς δ’ ἡμῶν ὁ γεραίτατος¹ εἶπε, Θάρρει, ὁ γύναι· καλὸν μὲν γὰρ κἀγαθὸν ἀκούομεν

¹ γεραίτατος F, most Edd.; γεραίτερος xyD, Dindorf.

and the tent. 3. Now this woman was the wife of Abradatas of Susa ; and when the Assyrian camp was taken, her husband happened not to be there, having gone on an embassy to the king of Bactria ; for the Assyrian king had sent him thither to negotiate an alliance, because he chanced to be a guest-friend of the Bactrian king. This, then, was the lady that Cyrus placed in the charge of Araspas, until such a time as he himself should take her. 4. And when he received this commission Araspas asked : " And have you seen the lady, Cyrus, whom you give into my keeping ? " said he.

" No, by Zeus," said Cyrus ; " not I."

" But I have," said the other. " I saw her when we selected her for you. And when we went into her tent, upon my word, we did not at first distinguish her from the rest ; for she sat upon the ground and all her handmaids sat around her. And she was dressed withal just like her servants ; but when we looked round upon them all in our desire to make out which one was the mistress, at once her superiority to all the rest was evident, even though she sat veiled, with her head bowed to the earth. 5. But when we bade her rise, all her attendants stood up with her, and then was she conspicuous among them both for her stature and for her nobility and her grace, even though she stood there in lowly garb. And she could not hide her tears as they fell, some down her dress, some even to her feet. 6. Then, when the oldest man in our company said : ' Have no fear, lady ; for

XENOPHON

καὶ τὸν σὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι· νῦν μέντοι ἔξαιροῦμεν ἀνδρὶ σε εὖ ἵσθι δτι)ούτε τὸ εἶδος ἐκείνου χείρονι οὔτε τὴν γυνώμην οὔτε δύναμιν ἥττω ἔχοντι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμεῖς γε νομίζομεν, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀνήρ, καὶ Κῦρος ἄξιός ἐστι θαυμάζεσθαι, οὐ σὺ ἔσει τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε· ὡς οὖν τοῦτο ἥκουσεν ἡ γυνὴ, περικατερρήξατό τε τὸν ἄνωθεν πέπλον καὶ ἀνωδύρατο· συνανεβόησαν δὲ καὶ αἱ δμωαί.

7. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἔφανη μὲν αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τοῦ προσώπου, ἔφανη δὲ ἡ δέρη καὶ αἱ χεῖρες· καὶ εὖ ἵσθι, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, ὡς ἐμοὶ τε ἔδοξε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τοῦς ἴδουσι μήπω φῦναι μηδὲ γενέσθαι γυνὴ ἀπὸ θυητῶν τοιαύτη ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἀλλὰ πάντως, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ θέασαι αὐτήν.

8. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη, [Ναὶ]¹ Μὰ Δία, πολύ γε ἥττον, εἰ τοιαύτη ἐστὶν οἵαν σὺ λέγεις.

Τί δαί; ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος.

"Οτι, ἔφη, εἰ τινὶ σοῦ ἀκούσας δτι καλή ἐστι πεισθήσομαι ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενος, οὐδὲ πάνυ μοι σχολῆς οὔσης, δέδοικα μὴ πολὺ θᾶττον ἐκείνη αὐθις ἀναπείσῃ καὶ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἵσως ἀν ἀμελήσας ὡν με δεῖ πράττειν καθήμην ἐκείνην θεώμενος.

9. Καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀναγελάσας εἶπεν, Οἰει γάρ, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, ίκανὸν εἶναι κάλλος ἀνθρώπου ἀναγκάζειν τὸν μὴ βουλόμενον πράττειν παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον; εἰ μέντοι, ἔφη, τοῦτο οὕτως ἐπεφύκει, πάντας ἀν ἡνάγκαζεν ὄμοίως. 10. ὄρας, ἔφη, τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πάντας ὄμοίως κάει; πέφυκε γάρ τοιοῦτον· τῶν δὲ καλῶν τῶν μὲν ἐρῶσι τῶν δ' οὐ, καὶ

¹ *ναὶ* MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach: bracketed by Cobet, Marchant, Gemoll,

CYROPAEDIA, V. i. 6-10

though we understand that your husband also is a noble man, yet we are choosing you out for a man who, be assured, is not his inferior either in comeliness or intelligence or power, but, as we at least think, if there is any man in the world who deserves admiration, that man is Cyrus ; and his you shall henceforth be.' Now when the lady heard that, she rent her outer garment from top to bottom and wept aloud ; and her servants also cried aloud with her.

7. "And then we had vision of most of her face and vision of her neck and arms. And let me tell you, Cyrus," said he, "it seemed to me, as it did to all the rest who saw her, that there never was so beautiful a woman of mortal birth in Asia. But," he added, "you must by all means see her for yourself."

8. "No, by Zeus," said Cyrus ; "and all the less, ^{Cyrus declines to visit her} if she is as beautiful as you say."

"Why so?" asked the young man.

"Because," said he, "if now I have heard from you that she is beautiful and am inclined just by your account of her to go and gaze on her, when I have no time to spare, I am afraid that she will herself much more readily persuade me to come again to gaze on her. And in consequence of that I might sit there, in neglect of my duties, idly gazing upon her."

9. "Why Cyrus," said the young man breaking into a laugh, "you do not think, do you, that human beauty is able to compel a man against his will to act contrary to his own best interests? Why," said he, "if that were a law of nature, it would compel us all alike. 10. Do you observe," said he, "how fire burns all alike? That is its nature. But of beautiful things we love some and some we do not; and one loves one,

Araspas maintains that love is a matter of will

XENOPHON

ἄλλος γε ἄλλου. ἐθελούσιον γάρ, ἔφη, ἐστί, καὶ ἐρᾶ ἕκαστος ὃν ἀν βούληται. αὐτίκ', ἔφη, οὐκ ἐρᾶ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῆς, ἄλλος δὲ ταύτης, οὐδὲ πατὴρ θυγατρός, ἄλλος δὲ ταύτης· καὶ γὰρ φόβος καὶ νόμος ἵκανὸς ἔρωτα κωλύειν. 11. εἰ δέ γ', ἔφη, νόμος τεθείη μὴ ἐσθίοντας μὴ πεινῆν καὶ μὴ πίνοντας μὴ διψῆν μηδὲ ρύγοῦν τοῦ χειμῶνος μηδὲ θάλπεσθαι τοῦ θέρους, οὐδεὶς ἀν νόμος¹ δυνηθείη διαπράξασθαι ταῦτα πείθεσθαι ἀνθρώπους· πεφύκασι γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων κρατεῖσθαι. τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν ἐθελούσιον ἐστιν· ἕκαστος γοῦν τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐρᾶ, ὥσπερ ἴματίων καὶ ὑποδημάτων.

12. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰ ἐθελούσιόν ἐστι τὸ ἐρασθῆναι, οὐ καὶ παύσασθαι ἐστιν ὅταν τις βούληται; ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἔώρακα καὶ κλαίοντας ὑπὸ λύπης δι' ἔρωτα, καὶ δουλεύοντάς γε τοῖς ἐρωμένοις καὶ μάλα κακὸν γομίζοντας πρὶν ἐρᾶν τὸ δουλεύειν, καὶ διδόντας γε πολλὰ ὃν οὐ βέλτιον αὐτοῖς στέρεσθαι, καὶ εὐχομένους ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς νόσου ἀπαλλαγῆναι, καὶ οὐ δυναμένους μέντοι ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεδεμένους ἰσχυροτέρᾳ ἀγάγκῃ ἡ εἰ ἐν σιδήρῳ ἐδέδειτο. παρέχουσι γοῦν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἐρωμένοις πολλὰ καὶ εἰκῇ ὑπηρετοῦντας· καὶ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀποδιδράσκειν

¹ νόμος MSS.; bracketed by Hug.

another another; for it is a matter of free will, and each one loves what he pleases. For example, a brother does not fall in love with his sister, but somebody else falls in love with her; neither does a father fall in love with his daughter, but somebody else does; for fear of God and the law of the land are sufficient to prevent such love. 11. But," he went on, "if a law should be passed forbidding those who did not eat to be hungry, those who did not drink to be thirsty, forbidding people to be cold in winter or hot in summer, no such law could ever bring men to obey its provisions, for they are so constituted by nature as to be subject to the control of such circumstances. But love is a matter of free will; at any rate, every one loves what suits his taste, as he does his clothes or shoes."

12. "How then, pray," said Cyrus, "if falling in love is a matter of free will, is it not possible for any one to stop whenever he pleases? But I have seen people in tears of sorrow because of love and in slavery to the objects of their love, even though they believed before they fell in love that slavery is a great evil; I have seen them give those objects of their love many things that they could ill afford to part with; and I have seen people praying to be delivered from love just as from any other disease, and, for all that, unable to be delivered from it, but fettered by a stronger necessity than if they had been fettered with shackles of iron. At any rate, they surrender themselves to those they love to perform for them many services blindly. And yet, in spite of all their misery, they do not attempt

Cyrus maintains that it is a kind of slavery

XENOPHON

ἐπιχειροῦσι, τοιαῦτα κακὰ ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλάττουσι τοὺς ἐρωμένους μὴ ποι ἀποδρῶσι.

13. Καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα, Ποιοῦσι γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα εἰσὶ μέντοι, ἔφη, οἱ τοιοῦτοι μοχθηροί· διόπερ οἴμαι καὶ εὔχονται μὲν ἀεὶ ὡς ἄθλιοι δύντες ἀποθανεῖν, μυρίων δ' οὐσῶν μηχανῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου οὐκ ἀπαλλάττονται. οἱ αὐτοὶ δέ γε οὗτοι καὶ κλέπτειν ἐπιχειροῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχονται τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τι ἀρπάσωσιν ἢ κλέψωσιν, ὅρᾳς δτι σὺ πρώτος, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δν¹ τὸ κλέπτειν, αἰτιὰ τὸν κλέπτοντα καὶ ἀρπάζοντα, καὶ οὐ συγγυγνώσκεις, ἀλλὰ κολάζεις. 14. οὗτοι μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ οἱ καλοὶ οὐκ ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐρᾶν ἑαυτῶν οὐδὲ ἐφίεσθαι ἀνθρώπους ὃν μὴ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀνθρώπια πασῶν οἴμαι τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀκρατῆ ἐστι, κάπειτα ἔρωτα αἰτιῶνται· οἱ δέ γε καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες καὶ χρυσίου καὶ ἵππων ἀγαθῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καλῶν, ὅμως πάντων τούτων δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι ὥστε μὴ ἀπτεσθαι αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. 15. ἐγὼ γοῦν, ἔφη, ταύτην ἐωρακὼς καὶ πάνυ καλῆς δοξάσης μοι εἶναι ὅμως καὶ παρὰ σοὶ εἴμι καὶ ἴππεύω καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα ἀποτελῶ.

16. Ναὶ μὰ Δῖ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· ἵστως γὰρ θâττον ἀπῆλθες ἢ ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ ἔρως πέφυκε συσκευάζεσθαι ἀνθρωπον. καὶ πυρὸς γάρ τοι ἐστι θιγόντα μὴ εὐθὺς κάεσθαι καὶ τὰ ξύλα οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀναλάμ-

¹ δν added by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll;

to run away, but even watch their darlings to keep them from running away."

13. "Yes," the young man answered; "there are some who do so; but such are wretched weaklings, and because of their slavery, I think, they constantly pray that they may die, because they are so unhappy; but, though there are ten thousand possible ways of getting rid of life, they do not get rid of it. And this very same sort attempt also to steal and do not keep their hands off other people's property; but when they commit robbery or theft, you see that you are the first to accuse the thief and the robber, because it was not necessary to steal, and you do not pardon him, but you punish him. 14. Now in this same way, the beautiful do not compel people to fall in love with them nor to desire that which they should not, but there are some miserable apologies for men who are slaves to all sorts of passions, I think, and then they blame love. But the high-minded and the good, though they also have a desire for money and good horses and beautiful women, have the power to let all that alone so as not to touch anything beyond the limit of what is right. 15. At any rate," he added, "I have seen this lady and though she seemed to me surpassingly beautiful, still I am here with you, I practise horsemanship, and I do everything else that it is my duty to do."

Anaspas claims that only the weakling is enslaved

16. "Aye, by Zeus," said Cyrus; "for you came away perhaps in less time than love takes, as its nature is, to get a man ensnared. For, you know, it is possible for a man to put his finger in the fire and not be burned at once, and wood does not burst at once into flame; still, for my part, I neither

XENOPHON

πει· ὅμως δ' ἔγωγε οὕτε πυρὸς ἐκῶν εἶναι ἀπτομαι
οὕτε τοὺς καλοὺς εἰστορῶ. οὐδέ γε σοὶ συμβουλεύω,
ἔφη, ὁ Ἀράσπα, ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἐᾶν τὴν δψιν
ἐνδιατρίβειν· ως τὸ μὲν πῦρ τοὺς ἀπτομένους κάει,
οἱ δὲ καλοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀπωθεῖν θεωμένους ὑφάπτου-
σιν, ὥστε αἴθεσθαι τῷ ἔρωτι.

17. Θάρρει, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε· οὐδ' ἐὰν μηδέποτε
παύσωμαι θεώμενος, οὐ μὴ κρατηθῶ ὥστε ποιεῖν
τι ὡν μὴ χρὴ ποιεῖν.

Κάλλιστα, ἔφη, λέγεις· φύλαττε τοίνυν, ἔφη,
ὡσπερ σε κελεύω καὶ ἐπιμέλου αὐτῆς· ἵσως γὰρ
ἄν πάνυ ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο αὐτῇ ἡ γυνή.

18. Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἰπόντες διελύθησαν.

Οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοις ἄμα μὲν ὄρῶν καλὴν τὴν
γυναῖκα, ἄμα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τὴν καλοκάγαθίαν
αὐτῆς, ἄμα δὲ θεραπεύων αὐτὴν καὶ οἰόμενος
χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῇ, ἄμα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος οὐκ ἀχά-
ριστον οὖσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελομένην διὰ τῶν αὐτῆς
οἰκετῶν ως καὶ εἰσιόντι εἴη αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντα καὶ
εἴ ποτε ἀσθενήσειεν, ως μηδενὸς ἐνδέοιτο, ἐκ
πάντων τούτων ἡλίσκετο ἔρωτι, καὶ ἵσως οὐδὲν
θαυμαστὸν ἐπασχε· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως
ἐπράττετο.

19. Βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐθελοντὰς μένειν
μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τούς τε Μῆδους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους,
συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ
συνῆλθον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε· 20. "Ἄνδρες Μῆδοι καὶ
πάντες οἱ παρόντες, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι
οὕτε χρημάτων δεόμενοι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐξήλθετε οὕτε

put my hand into the fire nor look upon the beautiful, if I can help it. And I advise you, too, Araspas," said he, "not to let your eyes linger upon the fair; for fire, to be sure, burns only those who touch it, but beauty insidiously kindles a fire even in those who gaze upon it from afar, so that they are inflamed with passion."

17. "Never fear, Cyrus," said he, "even if I never cease to look upon her, I shall never be so overcome as to do anything that I ought not."

"Your professions," said he, "are most excellent. Keep her then, as I bid you, and take good care of her; for this lady may perhaps be of very great service to us when the time comes."

18. After this conversation, then, they separated.

And as the young man found the lady so beautiful and at the same time came to know her goodness and nobility of character, as he attended her and thought he pleased her, and then also as he saw that she was not ungrateful but always took care by the hands of her own servants not only that he should find whatever he needed when he came in, but that, if he ever fell sick, he should suffer no lack of attention—in consequence of all this, he fell desperately in love with her; and what happened to him was perhaps not at all surprising. Thus matters began to take this turn.

19. Cyrus, however, wishing to have his Medes and allies stay with him voluntarily, called a meeting of all his staff-officers, and when they were come together he spoke as follows: 20. "Men of Media and all here present, I am very sure that you came out with me, not because you desired to get money by it nor because you thought that in this you were

*He falls in
love*

*Cyrus calls
upon the
Medes to
answer
Cyaxares*

Κυαξάρη νομίζοντες τοῦτο ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ
βουλόμενοι τοῦτο χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐμὲ τιμῶντες
νυκτοπορεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν σὺν ἐμοὶ ηθελήσατε.
21. καὶ χάριν τούτων ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἔχω μέν, εἰ μὴ
ἀδικῶ ἀποδίδοναι δὲ οὕπω ἀξίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν
μοι δοκῶ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι λέγων·
τὸ δ' ἐὰν μένητε παρ' ἐμοί, ἀποδώσω, εὖ ἔστε,
ἔφη, αἰσχυνοίμην ἀν εἰπεῖν· νομίζω γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν
ἐοικέναι λέγοντι ταῦτα ἔνεκα τοῦ ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον
ἐθέλειν παρ' ἐμοὶ καταμένειν. ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου τάδε
λέγω· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν, καν δὴ ἀπίητε Κυαξάρη
πειθόμενοι, ὅμως, ἀν ἀγαθόν τι πράξω, πειράσομαι
οὕτω ποιεῖν ὥστε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖν. 22. οὐ
γὰρ δὴ αὐτός γε ἄπειμι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Τρκανίοις οἷς
τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς δεξιὰς ἔδωκα ἐμπεδώσω καὶ
οὕποτε τούτους προδιδοὺς ἀλώσομαι, καὶ τῷ νῦν
διδόντι Γωβρύᾳ καὶ τείχῃ ἡμῖν καὶ χώραν
καὶ δύναμιν πειράσομαι ποιεῖν μὴ μεταμελῆσαι
τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁδοῦ. 23. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον δή,
θεῶν οὕτω διδόντων περιφανῶς ἀγαθὰ καὶ φο-
βοίμην ἀν αὐτοὺς καὶ αἰσχυνοίμην ἀπολιπών
ταῦτα εἰκῇ ἀπελθεῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτως, ἔφη,
ποιήσω· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅπως γυμνώσκετε οὕτω καὶ
ποιεῖτε, καὶ ἐμοὶ εἴπατε ὅ τι ἀν ὑμῖν δοκῆ.

24. Ο μὲν οὕτως εἰπε. πρώτος δ' ὁ φήσας ποτὲ
συγγενὴς τοῦ Κύρου εἶναι εἰπεν, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μέν,
ἔφη, ὡ βασιλεὺς βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἐμοιγε δοκεῖς σὺ
φύσει πεφυκέναι οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ ὁ ἐν τῷ σμήνει
φυόμενος τῶν μελιττῶν ἡγεμών· ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ

doing Cyaxares a service ; but it was to me that you wished to do this favour, and it was out of regard for me that you were willing to make the night-march and to brave dangers with me. 21. For this also I thank you—I should be in the wrong not to do so ; but I do not think that I am as yet in a position to make you an adequate return, and this I am not ashamed to say. But let me assure you," said he, "that I should be ashamed to say 'if you will stay with me, I will make you a proper return ;' for I think it would look as if I were saying it merely to make you more willing to stay with me. Instead of that, this is what I mean : even though you go back now in obedience to Cyaxares, still, if I achieve any success, I shall try so to act that you also will praise me. 22. For as to myself, I certainly am not going back, but I will be true to the oaths and the pledges which I gave the Hyrcanians, and I will never be caught playing them false ; and I will also endeavour so to conduct myself that Gobryas, who is now offering us both his castle and his country and his forces, shall not repent his coming to us. 23. And above all, now that the gods are so manifestly blessing our efforts, I should fear to offend them, and I should be ashamed in their sight to go away without good reason and leave what they have bestowed. Thus, therefore, I propose to act," said he ; "and do you also do as you judge to be best, and tell me what your decision is."

24. Thus he spoke. And the first one to reply was Artabazus the man who had once upon a time claimed to be a kinsman of Cyrus. "For my part, O my king," to stay said he—"for to me you seem to be a born king no less than is the sovereign of the bees in a hive.

αἱ μέλιτται ἔκοῦσαι μὲν πείθονται, ὅπου δ' ἀν
μένη, οὐδεμίᾳ ἐντεῦθεν ἀπέρχεται· ἔὰν δέ ποι¹
ἔξιη, οὐδεμίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀπολεῖπεται. οὗτω δεινός
τις ἕρως αὐταῖς τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγγί-
γνεται· 25. καὶ πρὸς σὲ δέ μοι δοκοῦσι παραπλη-
σίως πως οἱ ἄνθρωποι [οὗτω]² διακεῖσθαι. καὶ
γάρ εἰς Πέρσας ὅτε παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπήεις, τίς
Μῆδων ἦ νέος ἦ γέρων σοῦ ἀπελεύθη τὸ μῆ-
στοι ἀκολουθεῖν ἔστε Ἀστυάγης ἡμᾶς ἀπέστρε-
ψειν; ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ Περσῶν βοηθὸς ἡμῶν ὁρμήθης,
σχεδὸν αὖ ἐωρῶμεν³ τοὺς φίλους σου πάντας
ἐθελουσίους συνεπομένους. ὅτε δ' αὖ τῆς δεῦρο
στρατείας ἐπεθύμησας, πάντες σοι Μῆδοι ἔκόντες
ἡκολούθησαν. 26. νῦν δ' αὖ οὗτως ἔχομεν ώς
σὺν μὲν σοὶ δμως καὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ δύντες
θαρροῦμεν, ἀνευ δὲ σοῦ καὶ οἴκαδε ἀπιέναι
φοβούμεθα. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ὅπως ποιήσου-
σιν αὐτοὺς ἐροῦσιν ἐγὼ δέ, ὡς Κῦρε, καὶ ὡς
ἐγὼ κρατῶ καὶ μενοῦμεν παρὰ σοὶ καὶ ὥρωντες
σὲ ἀνεξόμεθα καὶ καρτερήσομεν ὑπὸ σοῦ εὐεργε-
τούμενοι.

27. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔλεξεν ὁ Τιγράνης ὡδε· Σύ,
ἔφη, ὡς Κῦρε, μῆποτε θαυμάσῃς ἀν ἐγὼ σιωπῶ.
ἡ γάρ ψυχή, ἔφη, οὐχ ώς βουλεύσουσα παρε-
σκεύασται ἀλλ' ώς ποιήσουσα ὅ τι ἀν παραγ-
γέλλῃς.

28. Ο δὲ Τρκάνιος εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μέν, ὡς
Μῆδοι, εἰ νῦν ἀπέλθοιτε, δαίμονος ἀν φαίην τὴν
ἐπιβουλὴν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἔᾶσαι ὑμᾶς μέγα εὐδαι-

¹ ποι Dindorf, Edd. ; ποι MSS.

² οὗτω MSS., most Edd. ; [οὗτω] Hug ; φιλίως Gemoll.

³ ἐωρῶμεν Camerarius, Edd. ; δρῶμεν MSS.

For as the bees always willingly obey the queen-bee and not one of them deserts the place where she stays ; and as not one fails to follow her if she goes anywhere else—so marvellous a yearning to be ruled by her is innate to them ; 25. so also do men seem to me to be drawn by something like the same sort of instinct toward you. And of that we have proof ; for when you started to return from our country to I. iv. 25-28 Persia, what man of the Medes either young or old failed to follow you, until Astyages made us turn back ? And when you hastened to our aid from Persia, we saw that almost all your friends followed with you of their own free will. Again, when you wished to come out on this expedition, all the Medes volunteered to follow you. 26. And now, too, this is our feeling, so that with you we are not afraid even in the enemy's land, while without you we are afraid even to return home. Now the rest may tell for themselves what they mean to do. But as for me, Cyrus, I, with the men whom I command, will remain with you and endure the sight of you and tolerate your goodness to us."

27. Following him, Tigranes spoke as follows : " Cyrus," said he, " you need never be surprised when I fail to speak. For my mind has been disciplined not to offer counsel but to do what you command."

28. " Well, Medes," said the Hyrcanian king, " if you should go away now, I should say that it was the plot of the evil one to prevent your becoming

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μονας γενέσθαι· ἀνθρωπίνη δὲ γνώμῃ τίς ἀν ἡ φευγόντων πολεμίων ἀποτρέποιτο ἢ ὅπλα παραδιδόντων οὐκ ἀν λαμβάνοι ἢ ἑαυτοὺς διδόντων καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀν δέχοιτο, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἡμῖν ὅντος τοιούτου ὃς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, [ώς]¹ ὅμνυμι ὑμῖν πάντας τὸν θεούς, εὖ ποιῶν ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἥδεσθαι ἢ ἑαυτὸν πλουτίζων.

29. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντες οἱ Μῆδοι τοιάδ' ἔλεγον· Σύ, ὁ Κῦρε, καὶ ἐξήγαγες ἡμᾶς καὶ οἴκαδε, ὅταν ἀπιέναι καιρὸς δοκῇ, σὺν σοὶ ἡμᾶς ἄγε.

'Ο δὲ Κῦρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐπηύξατο, 'Αλλ', ὁ Ζεῦ μέγιστε, αἰτοῦμαί σε, δὸς τοὺς ἐμὲ τιμῶντας νικῆσαι με εὖ ποιοῦντα.

30. Ἐκ τούτου ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους φυλακὰς καταστήσαντας ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ἥδη ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας διαλαβεῖν τὰς σκηνάς, τοῖς μὲν ἰππεῦσι τὰς τούτοις πρεπούσας, τοῖς δὲ πεζοῖς τὰς τούτοις ἀρκούσας· καὶ οὕτω καταστήσασθαι ὅπως ποιοῦντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς πάντα τὰ δέοντα φέρωσιν εἰς τὰς τάξεις τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τεθεραπευμένους παρέχωσι, Πέρσαις δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἔργον ἢ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκπονεῖν.

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν οὕτω διῆγον τὴν ἡμέραν.

¹ ὡς MSS.; omitted by Schneider, Edd.

exceedingly blest. For, in all common sense, who would turn away from the enemy when they are in flight, or refuse to take their arms when they surrender them, or their persons and property when they offer them—especially under such a leader as we have? For, I swear to you by all the gods, he seems to me happier in doing us kindnesses than in enriching himself."

29. Following him, all the Medes spoke to this effect: "It is you, Cyrus, that have brought us out here, and when you think the time to return has come, lead us back with you." The whole Median contingent stays with Cyrus

And when Cyrus heard that, he uttered this prayer: "Hear me, I beseech thee, O Zeus almighty, and grant that in service to them I may surpass the honour they show to me."

30. Thereupon he commanded the rest to station guards and after that to do for themselves whatever they pleased; and the Persians he bade divide the tents among themselves—to the cavalry the ones appropriate to their use and to the infantry such as sufficed for their needs—and to arrange matters so that the commissaries in the tents should do all that was required of them, prepare everything necessary, and carry it to the quarters of the Persians, and have their horses groomed and fed, and that the Persians should have no duty other than to practise the arts of war.

Thus they spent that day.

II

1. Πρὸς δ' ἀναστάντες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς Γωβρύαν, Κῦρος μὲν ἔφ' ἵππου καὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἵππεῖς γεγενημένοι εἰς δισχιλίους οἱ δὲ τὰ τούτων γέρρα καὶ τὰς κοπίδας ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶποντο, ὅσοι δύτες τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ στρατιὰ τεταγμένη ἐπορεύετο. ἔκαστον δ' ἐκέλευσε τοῖς καινοῖς ἑαυτῶν θεράπουσιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι δόστις ἀν αὐτῶν ἡ τῶν δπισθοφυλάκων φαίνηται δπισθεν ἡ τοῦ μετώπου πρόσθεν ἵη ἡ κατὰ τὰ¹ πλάγια ἔξω τῶν ἐν τάξει ιόντων² ἀλίσκηται, κολασθήσεται.

2. Δευτεραῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ δεῖλην γίγνουνται πρὸς τῷ Γωβρύου χωρίῳ, καὶ ὄρῶσιν ὑπερίσχυρόν τε τὸ ἔρυμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν πάντα παρεσκευασμένα ὡς ἀν κράτιστα ἀπομάχοιτο· καὶ βοῦς δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ πάμπολλα πρόβατα ὑπὸ τὰ ἔρυμα προσηγμένα ἔώρων.

3. Πέμψας δ' ὁ Γωβρύας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ἐκέλευσε περιελάσαντα ἰδεῖν ἡ³ ἡ πρόσοδος εὐπετεστάτη, εἴσω δὲ πέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῶν πιστῶν τινας, οἵτινες αὐτῷ⁴ τὰ ἔνδον ἴδοντες ἀπαγγελοῦσιν. 4. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ δύτῃ βουλόμενος ἰδεῖν εἴ που εἴη αἱρέσιμον τὸ τεῖχος, εἰ ψευδῆς φαίνοιτο ὁ Γωβρύας, περιῆλαυνε πάντοθεν, ἔώρα τε ἵσχυρότερα πάντα ἡ

¹ τὰ supplied by Pantazides, most Edd.; not in MSS., Dindorf.

² ιόντων Pantazides, most Edd.; ιντων MSS., Dindorf.

³ ἡ Camerarius, Edd.; εἰ MSS.

⁴ αὐτῷ Stephanus, Edd.; αὐτῶν MSS.

II

I. RISING early the next morning they started—
 Cyrus, on horseback, with those of the Persians who
 had been transformed into cavalrymen, to the
 number of about two thousand—to visit Gobryas.
 And those who carried the horsemen's shields and
 sabres followed behind them, to the same number;
 the rest of the army also proceeded in its proper
 divisions. He ordered the horsemen, each one, to
 inform their new squires that if any one of them
 should be seen behind the rear-guard or get in front
 of the van or be found on the flanks outside the
 line of march, he should be punished.

2. Toward evening of the second day they arrived
 at Gobryas's castle; and they saw that the fortress
 was exceedingly strong and that everything was
 ready on the walls so that there might be most
 effective fighting from them. And they saw many
 cattle also and a great many sheep driven up under
 protection of the fortifications.

3. Then Gobryas sent to Cyrus and bade him
 ride around and see where access was most easy and
 send in some of his trusted officers to examine
 what was inside and report back to him what they
 saw. 4. So Cyrus, wishing, as a matter of fact, to
 see for himself whether the fort could be stormed
 in case Gobryas should prove false, rode round on
 every side and saw that it was everywhere too strong
 for any one to approach. And those whom he had

The Persian
army visits
Gobryas

Gobryas
shows him
his
resources

προσελθεῖν· οὓς δ' ἔπειμψε πρὸς Γωβρύαν, ἀπίγγελλον τῷ Κύρῳ ὅτι τοσαῦτα εἴη ἔνδον ἀγαθά ὅσα ἐπ' ἀνθρωπῶν γενεάν, ώς σφίσι δοκεῖν, μὴ ἀν ἐπιλιπεῖν τοὺς ἔνδον ὄντας.

5. 'Ο μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ἐν φροντίδι ἦν ὃ τι ποτ' εἴη ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ Γωβρύας αὐτός τε ἔξήει πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔνδοθεν πάντας ἔξῆγε φέροντας οἶνον, ἄλφιτα, ἄλευρα, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλαύνοντας βοῦς, αλγας, οἰς, σῦς, καὶ εἴ τι βρωτόν, πάντα ἵκανὰ προσῆγον ώς δειπνῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν σὺν Κύρῳ στρατιάν. 6. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταχθέντες διῆρουν τε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδειπνοποίουν. ὁ δὲ Γωβρύας, ἐπεὶ πάντες αὐτῷ οἱ ἄνδρες ἔξω ἦσαν, εἰσιέναι τὸν Κῦρον ἐκέλευσεν ὅπως νομίζοι ἀσφαλέστατα. προεισπέμψας οὖν ὁ Κῦρος προσκόπους καὶ δύναμιν καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως εἰσήγει. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθεν ἀναπεπταμένας τὰς πύλας ἔχων, παρεκάλει τοὺς φίλους πάντας καὶ ἄρχοντας τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. 7. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἐκφέρων ὁ Γωβρύας φιάλας χρυσᾶς καὶ πρόχους καὶ κάλπιδας καὶ κόσμον παντοῖον καὶ δαρεικοὺς ἀμέτρους τιμᾶς καὶ πάντα καλὰ πολλά, τέλος τὴν θυγατέρα, δεινόν τι κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος, πενθικῶς δ' ἔχουσαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τεθνηκότος, ἔξαγων ὡδε εἰπεν· 'Εγώ σοι, ὁ Κῦρε, τὰ μὲν χρήματα ταῦτα δωροῦμαι, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα ταύτην ἐπιτρέπω διαθέσθαι ὅπως ἀν σὺ βούλῃ· ἵκετεύομεν δέ, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν τοῦ υἱοῦ, αὕτη δὲ νῦν τῷ ἀδελφοῦ τιμωρὸν γενέσθαι σε.

8. 'Ο δὲ Κῦρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν, 'Αλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ μὲν καὶ τότε ὑπεσχόμην ἀψευδοῦντός σου τιμωρήσειν εἰς δύναμιν· νῦν δὲ ὅτε ἀληθεύοντά σε

sent in **to** Gobryas brought back the report that there **were** provisions enough inside to last the garrison, as it seemed to them, for a whole generation.

5. Now Cyrus was pondering what all this meant, when Gobryas himself came out bringing with him all his **followers**; and some of them brought out with them wine and flour and barley-meal; others brought **cattle**, goats, sheep, swine, and all kinds of provisions—a plenty of everything for a dinner for Cyrus's **whole** army. 6. And they whose business it was apportioned it and set about preparing the meal. And when all his men were outside, Gobryas bade Cyrus **enter**, in whatever way he thought he might enter **most** safely. So Cyrus sent in ahead of him some scouts **and** a part of his forces, and then with this **precaution** he went in himself. And when he had gone in, keeping the gates wide open, he called to him all his friends and the officers of the troops with him. 7. And when they were inside, Gobryas brought out **golden** goblets, pitchers, and vases, all sorts of **ornaments**, an almost countless pile of daries, and all sorts of treasure in great quantities; and finally he brought out his daughter, a marvel of beauty and stature, **but** in mourning for her brother who was dead; IV. vi. 2f. and he said: “These treasures, Cyrus, I present to you, and this my daughter I entrust to you to make what disposal of her you may see fit. But we make our prayer **to** you, I, as I have done already, that you avenge my son, and she that you be the avenger of her brother.”

8. “Well,” said Cyrus in reply to this, “I promised you even then that, assuming that you did not speak me false, I should do all in my power to avenge you;

Cyrus
renews his
covenant
with
Gobryas

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όρῳ, ἡδη ὁφείλω τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, καὶ ταύτη ὑπι-
σχνοῦμαι τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα σὺν θεοῖς ποιήσειν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ μὲν δέχομαι, δίδωμι δὲ αὐτὰ τῇ παιδὶ ταύτη κάκείνῳ δις ἀν γῆμη αὐτήν. ἐν δὲ δῶρον ἅπειμι ἔχων πάρα σοῦ ἀνθ' οὐδὲν τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, [ἔκει πλεῖστά ἐστιν,]¹ οὐδὲ τὰ πανταχοῦ [ἀντὶ τούτου οὐ σύ μοι δεδώρησαι]² ἡδιον ἀν ἔχων ἀπέλθοιμι.

9. Καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας θαυμάσας τε τί τοῦτ' εἶη καὶ ὑποπτεύσας μὴ τὴν θυγατέρα λέγοι, οὕτως ἡρετο-. Καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε;

Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπεκρίνατο, "Οτι, ἔφη, ἐγώ, ὁ Γωβρύα, πολλοὺς μὲν οἴμαι εἶναι ἀνθρώπους οἵ οὔτε ἀσεβεῖν ἀν ἐθέλοιεν οὔτε ἀδικεῖν οὔτε ἀν ψεύδοιντο ἔκόντες εἶναι· διὰ δὲ τὸ μηδένα αὐτοῖς ἡθεληκέναι προέσθαι μήτε χρήματα πολλὰ μήτε τυραννίδα μήτε τείχη ἐρυμνὰ μήτε τέκνα ἀξιέραστα, ἀποθνήσκουσι πρότερον πρὶν δῆλοι γίγνεσθαι οἷοι ἦσαν. 10. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ νυνὶ καὶ τείχη ἐρυμνὰ καὶ πλοῦτον παντοδαπὸν καὶ δύναμιν τὴν σὴν καὶ θυγατέρα ἀξιόκτητον ἐγχειρίσας πεποίηκάς με δῆλον γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὔτ' ἀν ἀσεβεῖν περὶ ξένους ἐθέλοιμι οὔτ' ἀν ἀδικεῖν χρημάτων ἔνεκα οὔτε συνθήκας ἀν ψευδόμην ἔκδων εἶναι. 11. τούτων ἐγώ, εὖ ἔσθι, ἔως ἀν ἀνήρ δίκαιος ὁ καὶ δοκῶν εἶναι τοιούτος ἐπαινῶμαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὕποτ' ἐπιλήσομαι, ἀλλὰ πειράσομαι σε ἀντιτιμῆσαι πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς.

¹ [ἔκει πλεῖστά ἐστιν] Hug; εἰ ἔκει πλεῖστά ἐστιν MSS.; [εἰ ἔκει . . . ἐστιν] Hirschig; εἰ καὶ πλεῖστά ἐστιν Dindorf.

² ἀντὶ . . . δεδώρησαι MSS.; bracketed by Hirschig, most Edd.

and now, when I see that you are truthful, my promise is already due; and I promise her likewise that with heaven's help I will fulfil my promise to the letter.

"Now as to these treasures," said he, "I accept them, but I give them again to your daughter here and the man who shall marry her. But one gift of yours will I take as I leave you, in place of which not even all the wealth of Babylon (and that is enormous)—no, not even all the wealth of all the world would send me away more happy than with this gift from you."

9. And Gobryas, wondering what he meant and suspecting that he meant his daughter, asked: "And what might that gift be, Cyrus?"

"Gobryas," he replied, "it is this: I believe that there are many men who would not consent to be wicked or unjust or false, but they die before it is ever discovered what sort of men they are, simply because no one has ever seen fit to entrust them with great wealth or kingly power or mighty fortresses or lovely children; 10. but you have now placed in my hands your fortress and all sorts of wealth, your forces and your precious child, and have thus given me an opportunity of showing to all the world that I would not do an act of wickedness against a friend or do a wrong for the sake of gain or willingly prove false to a covenant. 11. And so long as I am an honest man and receive men's approbation as bearing this reputation, I assure you that I shall never forget this proof of your confidence but shall try to show you all fair honour in return.

XENOPHON

12. Καὶ ἀνδρὸς δ', ἔφη, τῇ θυγατρὶ μὴ φοβοῦ ως ἀπορήσεις ἀξίου ταύτης· πολλοὶ γὰρ κάγαθοὶ φίλοι εἰσὶν ἐμοὶ· ὃν τις γαμεῖ ταύτην· εἰ μέντοι χρήματ' ἔχει τοσαῦτα δσα σὺ δίδως ἥ καὶ ἄλλα πολλαπλάσια τούτων, οὐκ ἀν ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν· σὺ μέντοι εὐ ἵσθι ὅτι εἰσὶ τινες αὐτῶν οἱ ὃν μὲν σὺ δίδως χρημάτων οὐδὲ μικρὸν τούτων ἔνεκά σε μᾶλλον θαυμάζουσιν· ἐμὲ δὲ ζηλοῦσι νῦν καὶ εὔχονται πᾶσι θεοῖς γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἐπιδείξασθαι ως πιστοὶ μέν εἰσιν οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐμοῦ τοῖς φίλοις, τοῖς δὲ πολεμόις ως οὕποτ' ἀν ὑφεῖντο ζῶντες, εἰ μὴ τις θεὸς βλάπτοι· ἀντὶ δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς ὅτι οὐδ' ἀν τὰ Σύρων πρὸς τοὺς σοῖς καὶ Ἀσσυρίων πάντα προέλοιντο· τοιούτους ἄνδρας εὐ ἵσθι ἐνταῦθα καθημένους.

13. Καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπε γελάσας, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, δεῖξον δή μοι ποῦ οὗτοί εἰσιν, ἵνα σε τούτων τινὰ αἰτήσωμαι παῖδά μοι γενέσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ σε δεήσει πυνθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀν σὺν ἡμῖν ἔπη, αὐτὸς σὺ ἔχεις καὶ ἄλλῳ δεικνύναι αὐτῶν ἔκαστον.

14. Τοσαῦτ' εἶπὼν δεξιάν τε λαβὼν τοῦ Γωβρύα καὶ ἀναστὰς ἔξηει, καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ἔξηγεν ἄπαντας· καὶ πολλὰ δεομένου τοῦ Γωβρύα ἔνδον δειπνεῖν οὐκ ἡθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἔδείπνει καὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν σύνδειπνου παρέλαβεν.

15. ἐπὶ στιβάδος δὲ κατακλινεὶς ἥρετο αὐτὸν ὡδε-

12. "And as for your daughter," he continued, Cyrus's
 "do not fear that you shall fail to find a husband pledge for
 worthy of her; for I have many noble friends; the
 some one of them will marry her. But whether he
 daughter of
 will have as much money as you are ready to give me or
 Gobryas
 even many times as much, I could not say. Let me
 tell you, however, that there are some of them who
 do not admire you one whit the more for the money
 you have to offer; but with me they are vying now
 and praying to all the gods that it may be granted
 them one day to prove that they are not less faithful
 to their friends than I, and that so long as they live
 they would never yield to their enemies, unless some
 god should cross them. But their virtue and their
 good name they would not barter for all your wealth
 and the wealth of the Assyrians and Syrians to boot.
 Such men, let me tell you, are sitting here."

13. "By the gods, Cyrus," said Gobryas with a
 laugh, "please show me where they are, that I may
 ask you for one of them to be my son-in-law."

"There will be no need of your getting that
 information from me," answered Cyrus; "but, if you
 will go with us, you will be able yourself to point
 each one of them out to somebody else."

14. When he had thus spoken, he clasped Gobryas is
 Gobryas's right hand in his and rose to depart, impressed
 taking with him all his followers. And though by the
 simple life
 Gobryas urged him to dine in the castle, he de-
 clined, but dined in camp and took Gobryas with
 him as his guest. 15. And as he reclined upon a
 mat of straw he asked this question: "Tell me,

XENOPHON

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ω Γωβρύα, πότερον οἵει σοὶ εἶναι πλείω ἢ ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν στρώματα;

Καὶ ὃς εἶπεν, 'Τμῆν νὴ Δὲ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, ἔφη, καὶ στρώματα πλείω ἔστι καὶ κλῖναι, καὶ οἰκία γε πολὺ μείζων ἢ ὑμετέρα τῆς ἐμῆς, οὐ γε οἰκίᾳ μὲν χρῆσθε γῆ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ, κλῖναι δὲ ὑμῖν εἰσιν ὄπόσαι εὖναι ἵγενουιντ' ἀν ἐπὶ γῆς· στρώματα δὲ νομίζετε οὐχ ὅσα πρόβατα φύει [ἔρια],¹ ἀλλ' ὅσα δρη τε καὶ πεδία ἀνίησι.

16. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον συνδειπνῶν αὐτοῖς ὁ Γωβρύας καὶ ὄρῶν τὴν φαυλότητα τῶν παρατιθεμένων βρωμάτων πολὺ σφᾶς ἐνόμιζεν ἐλευθεριωτέρους εἶναι αὐτῶν. 17. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατενόησε τὴν μετριότητα τῶν συσσίτων²—ἐπ' οὐδενὶ γάρ βρώματι οὐδὲ πώματι Πέρσης ἀνήρ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων οὕτ' ἀν ὅμμασιν ἐκπεπληγμένος καταφανῆς γένοιτο οὔτε ἀρπαγῆ οὔτε τῷ νῷ μὴ οὐχὶ προσκοπεῖν ἅπερ ἀν καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ σίτῳ ὅν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἴππικοὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ταράττεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἴππων δύνανται ἀμα ἴππεύοντες καὶ ὄρῶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ λέγειν τὸ δέον, οὔτω κάκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ σίτῳ οἴονται δεῖν φρόνιμοι καὶ μέτριοι φαίνεσθαι· τὸ δὲ κεκινῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βρωμάτων καὶ τῆς πόσεως πάνυ αὐτοῖς ὑικὸν [καὶ θηριῶδες]³ δοκεῖ εἶναι.

18. Ἐνενόησε δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς ἐπηρώτων ἀλλήλους τοιαῦτα οὐα ἐρωτηθῆναι ἦδιον ἢ μὴ καὶ

¹ ἔρια MSS., Breitenbach; omitted by Dindorf, most Edd.

² συσσίτων Muretus, Edd.; σίτων MSS.

³ καὶ θηριῶδες MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.; bracketed by Cobet.

Gobryas, do you think you have more coverlets¹ than each one of us?"

"I am perfectly sure, by Zeus," the other answered, "that you have more coverlets and more couches,¹ and that your dwelling is much larger than mine; for you take heaven and earth for your dwelling, and you have as many couches as you can find resting-places on the ground, while you regard as your proper coverlets not wool that sheep produce, but whatever the mountains and plains bring forth."

16. Thus, as Gobryas dined with them for the first time and saw the simplicity of the food set before them, he thought his own people more refined than they. 17. But he soon perceived the temperance of the soldiers who sat at meat with him; for no Persian of the educated class would allow it to appear that he was captivated with any kind of food or drink, either with his eyes gloating over it, or with his hands greedy to get it, or with his thoughts so engrossed by it as to fail to observe things that would attract his attention if he were not at meat; but just as good horsemen do not lose their self-command when on horseback but can ride along and at the same time see and hear and say whatever they should, so also the educated Persians think that at their meals they ought to show themselves sensible and temperate; and to become excited over food or drink seems to them altogether swinish and bestial.

18. He noticed further about them that they asked one another such questions as people are more ^{Plain living and high thinking}

¹ Costly coverlets and couches were a special feature of oriental luxury.

XENOPHON

ἐσκωπτον οὐα σκωφθῆναι ἥδιον ἢ μή ἄ τε
ἔπαιζον ὡς πολὺ μὲν ὕβρεως ἀπῆν, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ
αισχρόν τι ποιεῖν, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ χαλεπαίνεσθαι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους. 19. μέγιστον δ' αὐτῷ ἔδοξεν
εἶναι τὸ ἐν στρατεἴᾳ ὅντας τῶν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κίν-
δυνον ἐμβαινόντων μηδενὸς οἰεσθαι δεῖν πλείω
παρατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο νομίζειν ἥδίστην εὐω-
χίαν εἶναι τοὺς συμμάχεσθαι μέλλοντας ὅτι βελτί-
στους παρασκευάζειν.

20. Ἡνίκα δὲ Γωβρύας ὡς εἰς οἰκον ἀπιών
ἀνίστατο, εἰπεῖν λέγεται, Οὐκέτι θαυμάζω, ὁ
Κῦρος, εἰ ἐκπώματα μὲν καὶ ἴμάτια καὶ χρυσίου
ἥμεῖς ὑμῶν πλείονα κεκτήμεθα, αὐτὸλ δὲ ἐλάτ-
τονος ὑμῶν ἄξιοι ἐσμεν. ἥμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμελό-
μεθα ὅπως ἥμην ταῦτα ὡς πλεῖστα ἔσται, ὑμεῖς
δέ μοι δοκεῖτε ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως αὐτὸλ ὡς
βέλτιστοι ἔσεσθε.

21. Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, "Ἄγ", ἔφη,
ὁ Γωβρύα, ὅπως πρῳ παρέσει ἔχων τοὺς ἵππεας
ἐξωπλισμένους, ἵνα καὶ τὴν δύναμίν σου ἰδωμεν,
καὶ ἄμα διὰ τῆς σῆς χώρας ἄξεις ἥμᾶς, ὅπως ἀν
εἰδῶμεν ἄ τε δεῖ φίλια καὶ πολέμια ἥμᾶς νομίζειν.

22. Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπόντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκά-
τερος ἐπὶ τὰ προσήκοντα.

"Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥμέρα ἐγένετο, παρῆν ὁ Γωβρύας
ἔχων τοὺς ἵππεας, καὶ ἤγειτο. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὃσπερ
προσήκει ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι, οὐ μόνον τῷ πορεύεσθαι
τὴν ὁδὸν προσείχε τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ' ἄμα προῖῶν
ἐπεσκοπεῖτο εἴ τι δυνατὸν εἴη τοὺς πολεμίους

pleased to be asked than not, that they indulged in such banter as is more agreeable to hear than not; he observed how far their jests were removed from insult, how far they were from doing anything unbecoming, and how far from offending one another. 19. But what seemed to him most extraordinary of all was that when on active service they did not think they ought to be served with a larger share than any one else of those who were going into the same dangers, but that they considered it the most sumptuous feast to make those who were to be their comrades in arms as efficient as possible.

20. When Gobryas rose to go home, he is reported to have said : " I am no longer surprised, Cyrus, that while we possess more cups and clothing and gold than you, we ourselves are worth less than you are. For our whole thought is to have as much of those things as possible, while your whole thought seems to me to be that you may be yourselves as capable as possible."

21. Thus he spoke ; and Cyrus answered : " Please see to it, Gobryas, that you are here early in the morning with your cavalry under arms, so that we may see your forces, and then you shall lead us through your country so that we may know what we have to consider as belonging to our friends and what as belonging to our enemies."

22. When they had thus spoken, they went away, each to his own proper task.

When day dawned, Gobryas came with his cavalry and led the way. But Cyrus, as became a general, turned his thoughts not only upon the march, but at the same time, as he proceeded, he kept studying the situation to see whether it might be in any way

ἀσθενεστέρους ποιεῖν ἡ αὐτοὺς ἴσχυροτέρους.
 23. καλέσας οὖν τὸν Τρκάνιον καὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν,
 τούτους γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν εἰδέναι μάλιστα ὅν αὐτὸς
 φέτο δεῖσθαι μαθεῖν, Ἐγώ τοι, ἔφη, ὁ ἄνδρες
 φίλοι, οἵμαι σὺν ὑμῖν ἀν ώς πιστοῖς βουλευό-
 μενος¹ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε οὐκ ἀν ἐξαμαρτά-
 νειν· ὥρῳ γὰρ ὅτι μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἡ ἐμοὶ σκεπτέον
 ὅπως ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἡμῶν μὴ ἐπικρατήσει. ἐμοὶ
 μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, τῶνδε ἀποσφαλέντι ἔστιν ἵσως
 καὶ ἄλλη ἀποστροφή· ὑμῖν δέ, εἰ οὗτος ἐπικρα-
 τήσει, ὥρῳ ἂμα πάντα τὰ δυντα ἀλλότρια γιγνό-
 μενα. 24. καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν πολέμιος ἔστιν,
 οὐκ ἐμὲ μισῶν, ἀλλ' οἴόμενος ἀσύμφορον ἔαυτῷ
 μεγάλους εἶναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ στρατεύει² διὰ τοῦτο
 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς· ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ μισεῖ, ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζων
 ὑφ' ὑμῶν.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο ἀμφότεροι κατὰ ταῦτα
 περαίνειν ὃ τι μέλλει, ως ταῦτ' εἰδόσι σφίσι
 καὶ μέλον αὐτοῖς ἴσχυρῶς ὅπῃ τὸ μέλλον ἀπο-
 βῆσσοιτο. 25. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἥρξατο ὁδε· Λέξατε δὴ
 μοι, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς νομίζει μόνους πολεμικῶς ἔχειν ὁ
 Ἀσσύριος πρὸς ἔαυτόν, ἡ ἐπίστασθε καὶ ἄλλον
 τινὰ αὐτῷ πολέμιον;

Ναὶ μὰ Δι', ἔφη ὁ Τρκάνιος, πολεμιώτατοι
 μέν εἰσιν αὐτῷ Καδούσιοι, ἔθνος πολύ τε καὶ
 ἄλκιμον. Σάκαι γε μὴν δμοροὶ ἡμῖν, οὐ κακὰ
 πολλὰ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου. ἐπειράτο
 γὰρ κάκείνους ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς καταστρέψασθαι.

¹ Βουλευόμενος xуA, Edl.; Βουλευομένοις GH (taken into my collection).

² στρατεύει xxF, Edl.; ἐστράτευσε DG² (it was for this reason that he began the war).

Cyrus consults with Gobryas and the Hyrcanian king

possible to make the enemy weaker or his own side stronger. 23. So he called Gobryas and the Hyrcanian king to him, for he supposed that they must know best what he thought he needed to learn, and said : " My dear friends, I think that I should be making no mistake to consult with you in regard to this war and to rely upon your trustworthiness. For I observe that you have greater need than I to see to it that the Assyrian shall not get the upper hand of us : if I am unsuccessful in this, I shall, perhaps, find some other place of refuge ; whereas in your case, I see that if he gains the upper hand, all that you have passes into other hands. 24. For, as for me, he is my enemy, not because he hates me, but because he imagines that it would be inimical to his interests for our nation to become great, and for that reason he is making war upon us ; but you he actually hates, for he thinks that you have done him wrong."

To this they both answered in the same way, that he should proceed with what he had to say, for they recognized the truth of what he had said and knew that it was a matter of vital concern to them how things turned out in the future. 25. Then he began as follows : " Tell me, then," said he, " does the Assyrian king believe that you are the only ones who are hostile to him, or do you know of any one else who is his enemy ? "

" Yes, by Zeus," said the Hyrcanian ; " the Cadusians, a large and powerful nation, are most bitter enemies of his ; and so are our neighbours, the Sacians, for they have suffered very severely at his hands ; for he attempted to subjugate them just as Assyria he did us."

XENOPHON

26. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἰεσθε νῦν αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἡδέως ἀν ἐπιβῆναι μεθ' ἡμῶν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ;

"Ἐφασαν, Καὶ σφόδρ' ἄν, εἴ πή γε δύναιντο συμμίξαι.

Τί δ', ἔφη, ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦ συμμίξαι;

'Ασσύριοι, ἔφασαν, τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος δι' οὗπερ νῦν πορεύει.

27. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἥκουσεν ὁ Κῦρος, Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύα, οὐ σὺ τοῦ νεανίσκου τούτου ὃς νῦν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν καθέστηκεν ὑπερηφανίαν πολλήν τινα τοῦ τρόπου κατηγορεῖς;

Τοιαῦτα γάρ, οἶμαι, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, ἐπαθον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Πότερα δῆτα, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰς σὲ μόνου τοιούτους ἐγένετο ἢ καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τινάς;

28. Νὴ Δᾶ, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, καὶ εἰς ἄλλους γε ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας οἴα ὑβρίζει τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἐνὸς δὲ ἀνδρὸς πολὺ δυνατωτέρου ἢ ἐγὼ υἱόν, καὶ ἐκείνου ἔταιρον δυτα ὠσπερ τὸν ἐμόν, συμπίνυτα παρ' ἕαυτῷ συλλαβὼν ἐξέτεμεν, ώς μέν τινες ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἡ παλλακὴ αὐτοῦ ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὸν ώς καλὸς εἴη καὶ ἐμακάριστε τὴν μέλλονταν αὐτῷ γυναικα ἐσεσθαι ώς δὲ αὐτὸς νῦν λέγει, ὅτι ἐπείρασεν αὐτοῦ τὴν παλλακίδα. κα νῦν οὕτος εὔνοῦχος μέν ἐστι, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν ἔχει, ἐπεὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτησεν.

29. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἴει ἀν καὶ τοῦτον ἡδέως ἡμᾶς ἴδειν, εἰ οἴοιτο ἔαυτῷ βοηθοὺς ἀν γενέσθαι;

26. "Well then," said he, "do you think that these two nations would like to join us in an attack upon the Assyrian?"

"Yes," they answered, "and right eagerly, if they could find a way to combine their forces with ours."

"And what is to hinder such a union of forces?" asked Cyrus.

"The Assyrians," they answered, "the same nation, through whose country you are now marching."

27. "But, Gobryas," said Cyrus, when he heard this, "do you not accuse this young fellow who has just come to the throne of cruel insolence of character?"

"That judgment, I think," said Gobryas, "is warranted by my experience with him."

"Pray, are you the only man towards whom he has acted in this way," Cyrus asked, "or are there others also?"

28. "Aye, by Zeus," said Gobryas; "there are ^{The king and Gadatas} others also. But why should I recount his acts of insolence toward the weak? For once when he and the son of a man much more powerful than I were drinking together, a young man who, like my son, was his comrade, he had him seized and castrated; and the occasion, so some people said, was simply because his concubine had praised his friend, remarking how handsome he was and felicitating the woman who should be his wife; but the king himself now maintains that it was because the man had made advances toward his concubine. And so now he is a eunuch, but he has come into the kingdom, for his father is dead."

29. "Well then," said Cyrus, "do you think that he also would be glad to see us, if he thought we could help him?"

XENOPHON

Εδὲ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, οἶδα, ὁ Γωβρύας· ἀλλ' ἴδειν τοι αὐτὸν χαλεπόν ἐστιν, ὡς Κῦρε.

Πῶς; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος.

"Οτι εἰ μέλλει τις ἐκείνῳ συμμίξειν, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα δεῖ παριέναι.

30. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, τοῦτο χαλεπόν;

"Οτι νὴ Δᾶ, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, οἶδα ἔξελθοῦσαν ἀν¹ δύναμιν ἔξι αὐτῆς πολλαπλασίαν ἢς σὺ ἔχεις νῦν· εὐ δὲ ἵσθι ὅτι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἡττόν σοι νῦν ἡ τὸ πρότερον Ἀσσύριοι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποφέρουσι καὶ τοὺς Ἰππους ἀπάγουσιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν αὐτῶν ὀλίγη ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἡ σὴ δύναμις· καὶ ὁ λόγος οὐτος πολὺς ἥδη ἔσπαρται· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ἔφη, βέλτιον εἶναι φυλαττομένους πορεύεσθαι.

31. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀκούσας τοῦ Γωβρύου τοιαῦτα τοιάδε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεξε· Καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, ὡς Γωβρύα, κελεύων ως ἀσφαλέστατα τὰς πορείας ποιεῖσθαι. ἔγωγ̄ οὖν σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι ἐννοῆσαι ἀσφαλεστέραν οὐδεμίαν πορείαν ἡμῖν τοῦ² πρὸς αὐτὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἴεναι, εἰ ἐκεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐστὶ τὸ κράτιστον. πολλοὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν, ως σὺ φής· εἰ δὲ θαρρήσουσι, καὶ δεινοὶ ἡμῖν, ως ἔγω φημι, ἔσονται. 32. μὴ ὄρωντες μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οἰόμενοι ἀφανεῖς εἶναι διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι ἐκείνους, σάφ' ἵσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν φόβου ἀπαλλάξονται δις αὐτοῖς ἐνεγένετο, θάρρος δὲ ἐμφύσεται ἀντὶ τούτου τοσούτῳ μεῖζον δσῳ ἀν πλείονα χρόνον ἡμᾶς μὴ ὄρωσιν· ἦν δὲ

¹ ήν added by Schaefer, Edd.; not in MSS.

² τοῦ Weekherlein, Dindorf, Breitenbach; τῆς MSS., Marchant (who writes, after Βαβυλῶνα, πορείας εἶναι), Gemoll.

"Think!" said Gobryas, "I am sure of it. But, Cyrus, it would be difficult to see him."

"Why?" asked Cyrus.

"Because, to effect a union of forces with him, one has to march along under the very walls of Babylon."

30. "Why, pray," said the other, "is that so difficult?"

"Because, by Zeus," said Gobryas, "I know that the forces that would come out of that city alone are many times as large as your own at present; and let me tell you that the Assyrians are now less inclined than heretofore to deliver up their arms and to bring in their horses to you for the very reason that to those of them who have seen your army it seemed a small one; and a rumour to this effect has now been widely spread abroad. And," he added, "I think we should do better to proceed cautiously."

31. "I think you are right, Gobryas, in admonishing us to march with the utmost caution," Cyrus made answer upon hearing this suggestion from him. "But when I think of it, I cannot conceive of any safer procedure for us than to march directly upon Babylon, if that is where the main body of the enemy's forces is. For they are, as you say, numerous; and if they take courage, they will also, as I say, give us cause to fear them. 32. However, if they do not see us and get the idea that we are keeping out of sight because we are afraid of them, then, let me assure you, they will recover from the fear with which we inspired them; and the longer we keep out of their sight, the greater the courage that will spring up within them in place of that fear.

The
Assyrians'
terror of
Cyrus is dis-
appearing

Cyrus pro-
poses to
march
straight for
Babylon

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ἥδη ἵωμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν εὔρι-
σομεν ἔτι κλαίοντας τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὑφ' ἡμῶν,
πολλοὺς δ' ἔτι τραύματα ἐπιδεδεμένους ἢ οὐ πὸ
τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔλαβον, πάντας δ' ἔτι μεμυημένους
τῆς μὲν τοῦδε τοῦ στρατεύματος τόλμης, τῆς
δ' αὐτῶν φυγῆς τε καὶ συμφορᾶς. 33. εὖ δ' ἵσθι,
ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύα, [ἴνα καὶ τοῦτ' εἰδῆς,]¹ οἱ πολλοὶ²
ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν μὲν θαρρῶσιν, ἀνυπόστατον τὸ
φρόνημα παρέχονται· ὅταν δὲ δείσωσιν, δσφ ἀν
πλείους ὥσι, τοσούτῳ μείζω καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένου
μᾶλλον τὸν φόβον κέκτηνται. 34. ἐκ πολλῶν
μὲν γὰρ καὶ κακῶν λόγων ηὔξημένος αὐτοῖς
πάρεστιν, ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πονηρῶν σχημάτων,²
ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυσθύμων τε καὶ ἔξεστηκότων
προσώπων ἥθροισται. ὥσθ' οὐ πὸ τοῦ μεγέθους
οὐ δέρδιον αὐτόν ἔστιν οὔτε λόγοις κατασβέσαι
οὔτε προσάγοντα πολεμίοις μένος ἐμβαλεῖν οὔτε
ἀπάγοντα ἀναθρέψαι τὸ φρόνημα, ἀλλ' δσφ ἀν
μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς θαρρεῖν παρακελεύῃ, τοσούτῳ ἐν
δεινοτέροις ἥγοῦνται εἶναι.

35. Εκεῖνο μέντοι νὴ Δί, ἔφη, σκεψώμεθα
ἀκριβῶς ὅπως ἔχει. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε
αἱ νῦν εἴσονται ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις ὅπό-
τεροι ἀν πλείονα δχλον ἀπαριθμήσωσιν, δρθῶς
καὶ σὺ φοβεῖ περὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμέντι τῷ δοντι ἐν
δεινοῖς ἐσμεν· εἰ μέντοι ὕσπερ πρόσθεν διὰ τοὺς
εὖ μαχομένους ἔτι καὶ νῦν αἱ μάχαι κρίνονται,
θαρρῶν οὐδὲν ἀν σφαλείης πολὺ μὲν γὰρ σὺν

¹ Ίνα . . . εἰδῆς xz, Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Schneider, Marchant, Gemoll; *elvai* καὶ τοῦτο ἥδη ὡς yG².

² σχημάτων Toup (ad Longinus, p. 480), Gemoll; χρημάτων xz, Dindorf, Breitenbach; χρημάτων yG.

But if we march upon them at once, we shall find many of them still in tears over those whom we have slain, many still wearing bandages on the wounds they received from us, and all still mindful of the daring of this army of ours and of their own flight and defeat. 33. And let me assure you, Gobryas," he continued, "that your large bodies of men, when they are inspired with confidence, display a spirit that is irresistible ; but when once they are frightened, the greater their numbers are, the greater and more overpowering the panic that seizes them. 34. For it comes over them increased by the many faint-hearted words they hear and magnified by the many wretched figures and the many dejected and distorted countenances they see ; and by reason of the large numbers it is not easy with a speech to quell the panic, nor by a charge against the enemy to inspire them with courage, nor by a retreat to rally their spirits ; but the more you try to encourage them to bravery, in so much the greater peril do they think they are.

35. "Again, by Zeus," said he, "let us consider precisely how this matter stands : if, in future, victory on the field of battle is to rest with that side which counts the greater numbers, you have good reason to fear for us and we really are in danger. If, however, battles are still to be decided by good fighting as they have been before, it would not be at all amiss for you to be bold and confident ; for,

Cyrus's
grounds for
confidence

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τοῖς θεοῖς πλείονας εύρήσεις παρ' ἡμῖν τοὺς θέλοντας μάχεσθαι ἢ παρ' ἐκείνοις. 36. ὡς δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον θαρρῆς, καὶ τόδε κατανόησον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμοι πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττονές εἰσιν νῦν ἢ πρὸν ἡττηθῆναι ύφ' ἡμῶν, πολὺ δὲ ἐλάττονες ἢ ὅτε ἀπέδρασαν ἡμᾶς· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ μείζονες νῦν, ἐπεὶ νενικήκαμεν, καὶ ἴσχυρότεροι, ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν προσεγένεσθε· μὴ γάρ ἔτι ἀτίμαξε μηδὲ τοὺς σούς, ἐπεὶ σὺν ἡμῖν εἴσιν· σὺν γὰρ τοῖς νικῶσι, σάφ' ἴσθι, ὡς Γωβρύα, θαρροῦντες καὶ οἱ ἀκόλουθοι ἔπονται.

37. Μὴ λανθανέτω δέ σε μηδὲ τοῦτο, ἔφη, ὅτι ἔξεστι μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νῦν ἰδεῖν ἡμᾶς· γοργότεροι δέ, σάφ' ἴσθι, οὐδαμῶς ἀν αὐτοῖς φανείημεν ἢ ἴόντες ἐπ' ἐκείνους. ὡς οὖν ἐμοῦ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντος ἄγε ἡμᾶς εὐθὺς [τὴν ἐπὶ]¹ Βαβυλῶνος.

III

1. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ πορευόμενοι τεταρταῖοι πρὸς τοὺς ὄροις τῆς Γωβρύου χώρας ἐγένοντο. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἦν, κατέστησε λαβὼν ἐν τάξει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς τε πεζοὺς καὶ τῶν ἵππεων ὅσους ἔδόκει καλῶς αὐτῷ ἔχειν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἵππεας ἀφῆκε καταθεῖν, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ὅπλα ἔχοντας κατακαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους καὶ πρόβατα ὅσα ἀν λάβωσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγειν. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας συγκαταθεῖν· καὶ

¹ τὴν ἐπὶ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Cobet, Marchant; τὴν εὐθὺς [ἐπὶ] Gemoll.

please God, you will find far more men on our side who are eager to fight, than on theirs. 36. And to give yourself still more confidence, bethink you also of this: the enemy are much fewer now than they were before we defeated them, much weaker than when they fled before us; while we are bigger now since we have conquered and stronger since you have been added to us. For you must no longer undervalue your own men, now that they are with us; for be assured, Gobryas, that when they are with the victors, even those who follow the camp go along without a fear.

37. "And do not forget this either, that the enemy may find us even now, if they will. And, let me assure you, we could in no possible way strike more terror into them when they do see us, than by marching upon them. As this, therefore, is my conviction, lead us straight on to Babylon."

III

1. As they thus proceeded, they arrived on the fourth day at the boundaries of Gobryas's domains. And as soon as Cyrus was in the enemy's country, he arranged in regular order under his own command the infantry and as much of the cavalry as seemed to him best. The rest of the cavalry he sent out to forage, with orders to kill those who were under arms but to bring every one else to him, as well as any cattle they might take. The Persians he ordered to join the foraging party. And many of them

The Per-
sians prove
to Gobryas
their
generosity

XENOPHON

ἥκον πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν κατακεκυλισμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ λείαν πλείστην ἄγοντες.

2. ‘Ως δὲ παρῆν ἡ λεία, συγκαλέσας τούς τε τῶν Μήδων ἄρχοντας καὶ τῶν Τρκανίων καὶ τοὺς ὄμοτίμους ἔλεξεν ὡδε· Ἀνδρες φίλοι, ἔξενισεν ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας πολλοῖς ἀγαθοῖς Γωβρύας. εἰ δὲ, ἔφη, τοῖς θεοῖς ἔξελόντες¹ τὰ νομιζόμενα καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἱκανὰ τὴν ἄλλην τούτῳ δοίημεν λείαν, ἀρ’ ἄν, ἔφη, καλὸν ποιήσαιμεν τῷ εὐθὺς φανεροὶ εἶναι ὅτι καὶ τοὺς εὖ ποιοῦντας πειρώμεθα νικᾶν εὖ ποιοῦντες;

3. ‘Ως δὲ τοῦτ’ ἥκουσαν, πάντες μὲν ἐπήνουν, πάντες δὲ ἐνεκωμάζον· εἴς δὲ καὶ ἔλεξεν ὡδε· Πάνυ, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, τοῦτο ποιήσωμεν καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύας πτωχούς τινας ἡμᾶς νομίζειν, ὅτι οὐ δαρεικῶν μεστοὶ ἥκομεν οὐδὲ ἐκ χρυσῶν πίνομεν φιαλῶν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν, γνοίη ἄν, ἔφη, ὅτι ἔστιν ἔλευθερίους εἶναι καὶ ἄνευ χρυσοῦ.

4. Ἄγε δή, ἔφη, τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποδόντες τοῖς μάγοις καὶ ὅσα τῇ στρατιᾱͅ ἱκανὰ ἔξελόντες τἄλλα καλέσαντες τὸν Γωβρύαν δότε αὐτῷ.

Οὕτω δὴ λαβόντες ἐκεῖνοι ὅσα ἔδει τἄλλα ἔδοσαν τῷ Γωβρύᾳ.

5. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ᾧει πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα παρατάξαμενος ὥσπερ ὅτε ἡ μάχη ἦν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀντ-

¹ ἔξελόντες Aldine ed., Edd.; ἀφελόντες MSS.

CYROPAEDIA, V. iii. 1-5

were thrown from their horses and came back, but many of them also came bringing a great quantity of plunder.

2. When all the booty was brought in, he called the peers and the officers of the Medes and Hyrcanians together and addressed them as follows: "My friends, Gobryas has entertained us all with great munificence. So, if we should set apart the share of the spoil ordained for the gods and a portion sufficient for the army and give the rest to him, should we not be doing the right thing? For we should be giving immediate proof that we are trying to outdo those who do good to us, in the good we do to them."

3. When they heard this they all signified their approval and applauded the proposition; and one of them also spoke as follows: "By all means, Cyrus," said he, "let us do that. And it would be a good stroke of policy, too; for it seems to me that Gobryas regards us as no better than a lot of beggars because we have not come here with our pockets full of daries and because we do not drink from golden goblets. And if we do this, then he would realize that it is possible for men to be gentlemen, even without gold."

4. "Come then," said Cyrus, "turn over to the magi what belongs to the gods, set apart for the army its share, and then call Gobryas in and give the rest to him."

So they set aside what was required and gave the rest to Gobryas.

5. After this Cyrus renewed his march upon Babylon, with his army in the same order as when the battle was fought. But as the Assyrians did not want to fight, he did not have to fight.

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εξῆσαν οἱ Ἀσσύριοι, ἐκέλευσεν δὲ Κῦρος τὸν Γωβρύαν προσελάσαντα εἰπεῖν δτι εἰ βούλεται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔξιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας μάχεσθαι, καὶν αὐτὸς σὺν ἐκείνῳ μάχοιτο· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀμυνεῖ τῇ χώρᾳ, δτι ἀνάγκη τοῖς κρατοῦσι πείθεσθαι.

6. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Γωβρύας προσελάσας ἔνθα ἀσφαλὲς ἦν ταῦτα εἰπεν, ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔξεπεμψεν ἀποκρινούμενον τοιάδε· Δεσπότης ὁ σὸς λέγει, ὁ Γωβρύα, οὐχ δτι ἀπέκτεινά σου τὸν νίδον μεταμέλει μοι, ἀλλ’ δτι οὐ καὶ σὲ προσαπέκτεινα. μάχεσθαι δὲ ἐὰν βούλησθε, ἥκετε εἰς τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν· νῦν δὲ οὕτω ήμūν σχολή· ἔτι γὰρ παρασκευαζόμεθα.

7. Ὁ δὲ Γωβρύας εἰπεν, Ἄλλὰ μήποτέ σοι λήξειεν αὗτη ἡ μεταμέλεια· δῆλον γὰρ δτι ἀνιῶ σέ τι, ἔξ οὐ αὗτη σε ἡ μεταμέλεια ἔχει.

8. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Γωβρύας ἀπήγγειλε τὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ καλέσας τὸν Γωβρύαν, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, οὐκ ἔλεγες μέντοι σὺ δτι τὸν ἐκτμηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου οἴει ἀν σὺν ήμūν γενέσθαι;

Εὖ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, δοκῶ εἰδέναι πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε κάκείνος ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα πρὸς ἄλληλους.

9. Ὡπότε τοίνυν σοι δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, πρόσιθι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ πρῶταν μὲν οὕτω ποίει ὅπως ἀν αὐτοὶ λάθρᾳ συνῆτε.¹ ἐπειδὰν δὲ συγγένη αὐτῷ, ἐὰν γυῷς αὐτὸν φίλον βουλόμενον εἶναι, τοῦτο δεῖ μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως λάθη φίλος ὁν ήμūν οὔτε γὰρ

¹ δπως ἀν αὐτοὶ λάθρᾳ συνῆτε Muretus; δπως ἀν αὐτοὶ δτι ἀν λέγη εἰδῆτε yP, Marchant, Gemmill; δπως ἀν οὗτος λέγη x; δπως ἀν αὐτὸς λέγη ήδη γε z; δπως ἀν λέγη αὐτοὶ εἰδῆτε Pantazides, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

not march out to meet them, Cyrus ordered Gobryas to ride up and say: "If the king wishes to come out and fight for his country, I myself would join him and fight for him too; but if the king will not protect his country, then I must needs submit to the victors."

6. Accordingly, Gobryas rode to a place where he could safely give his message; and the king sent out a messenger to deliver to Gobryas this reply: "This is your sovereign's response to you, Gobryas: 'I do not regret that I killed your son, but only that I did not kill you, too. And if you and your men wish to fight, come back a month from now. Just at present we have no time to fight, for we are still busy with our preparations.'"

7. "I only hope that this regret of yours may never cease," Gobryas replied; "for it is evident that I have been something of a thorn in your flesh, ever since you began to feel it."

8. Gobryas returned with the Assyrian king's reply, and when Cyrus heard it he drew off his army; then summoning Gobryas he said to him: "Tell me, you were saying, were you not, that you thought that the prince who was castrated by the Assyrian would be on our side?"

"Why, of course;" he replied, "I feel perfectly sure of it; for he and I have often talked together freely."

9. "Well then, when you think best, go to him; Cyrus plans to gain the secret support of Gadatas but first of all be sure that you meet him alone and in secret; and when you have conferred with him, if you see that he wishes to be our friend, you must manage to keep his friendship a secret. For in time

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ἄν φίλους τις ποιήσειεν ἄλλως πως πλείω ἀγαθὰ
ἐν πολέμῳ η̄ πολέμιος δοκῶν εἶναι οὕτ' ἀν ἔχ-
θροὺς πλείω τις βλάψειεν ἄλλῳς πως η̄ φίλος
δοκῶν εἶναι.

10. Καὶ μήν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, οἶδ' ὅτι κἀν
πρίαυτο Γαδάτας τὸ μέγα τι ποιῆσαι κακὸν τὸν
νῦν βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων. ἀλλ' ὅ τι ἀν δύναιτο,
τοῦτο δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς σκοπεῖν.

11. Λέγε δή μοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰς τὸ φρούριον
τὸ πρὸ τῆς χώρας, ὃ φατε Ὄρκανίοις τε καὶ
Σάκαις ἐπιτετειχίσθαι τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ πρόβολον
εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρ' ἄν, ἔφη, οἴει ὑπὸ τοῦ
φρουράρχου παρεθῆναι τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐλθόντα σὺν
δυνάμει;

Σαφῶς γ', ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, εἴπερ ἀνύποπτος
ῶν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐστιν, ἀφίκοιτο πρὸς αὐτόν.

12. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ἀνύποπτος ἀν εἴη, εὶ προσ-
βάλοιμι μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ ως λαβεῖν
βουλόμενος, ἀπομάχοιτο δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀνὰ κράτος·
καὶ λάβοιμι μὲν αὐτοῦ τι ἐγώ, ἀντιλάβοι δὲ
κάκεῖνος ἡμῶν ἡ ἄλλους τινὰς ἡ καὶ ἀγγέλους
πεμπομένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τούτους οὓς φατε
πολεμίους τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ εἶναι· καὶ οἱ μὲν λη-
φθέντες λέγοιεν ὅτι ἐπὶ στράτευμα ἀπέρχονται καὶ
κλίμακας ως ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἤξοντες, ὃ δὲ εὐ-
νοῦχος ἀκούσας προσποιήσατο προαγγεῖλαι βου-
λόμενος ταῦτα παρεῖναι.

13. Καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν ὅτι οὕτω μὲν γυγνο-

of war one could not in any way do more good to one's friends than by seeming to be their enemy, nor more harm to enemies than by seeming to be their friend."

10. "Now mark my word," said Gobryas; "I am sure that Gadatas would even pay for the opportunity of doing the present Assyrian king some serious harm. But what harm he could do it is for us on our part to consider."

11. "Now tell me this," said Cyrus, "in regard to the fort which stands upon the frontier of the country and which you say was built to serve as a base of operations against the Hyrcanians and the Sacians and an outwork to protect this country in time of war—do you think that the eunuch, if he went there with his army, would be admitted by the commandant?"

"Yes; certainly he would," said Gobryas, "if he came to him as unsuspected as he now is."

12. "Then," answered Cyrus, "if I should make an attack on his fortifications as if I wished to gain possession of them, while he defended himself with all his might; and if I should take something of his and he in turn should capture either some of our other men or some of the messengers I send to those who, you say, are enemies of the Assyrian king; and if these captives should say that they had come out to get an army and ladders to use against the fortress; and if then the eunuch, on hearing this, should pretend that he had come to give warning; under these conditions, he would be unsuspected."

13. "Under such circumstances," answered Gobryas, "the commandant would certainly admit

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μένων σαφῶς παρείη ἀν αὐτόν, καὶ δέοιτό γ' ἀν αὐτοῦ μένειν ἔως ἀπέλθοις.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἴ γε ἅπαξ εἰσέλθοι, δύναιτ' ἀν ἡμῖν ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι τὸ χωρίον;

14. Εἶκὸς γοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, τὰ μὲν ἔνδον ἐκείνου συμπαρασκευάζοντος, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν σοῦ ἴσχυρότερα προσάγοντος.

"Ιθι οὖν, ἔφη, καὶ πειρῶ ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ διαπραξάμενος παρεῖναι πιστὰ δὲ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀν μείζω οὕτ' εἴποις οὔτε δείξαις ὃν αὐτὸς σὺ τυγχάνεις παρ' ἡμῶν εἰληφώς.

15. Ἐκ τούτου φχετο μὲν ὁ Γωβρύας ἀσμενος δὲ ἵδων αὐτὸν ὁ εὔνοῦχος συνωμολόγει τε πάντα καὶ συνέθετο ἀ ἔδει.

"Ἐπει τὸ δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ Γωβρύας ὅτι πάντα δοκοίη ἴσχυρῶς τῷ εὐνούχῳ τὰ ἐπισταλέντα, ἐκ τούτου τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσέβαλε μὲν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπεμάχετο δὲ ὁ Γαδάτας. ἦν δὲ καὶ δ ἐλαβε χωρίον ὁ Κῦρος, ὅποιον ἔφη ὁ Γαδάτας. 16. τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων οὓς ἐπεμψεν ὁ Κῦρος προειπὼν ἦ πορεύσοιντο, τοὺς μὲν εἴασεν ὁ Γαδάτας διαφεύγειν, δπως ἄγοιεν τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ τὰς κλίμακας κομίζοιεν οὓς δ' ἐλαβε, βασανίζων ἐναντίον πολλῶν, ὡς ἥκουσεν ἐφ' ἀ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι, εὐθέως συσκευασάμενος ὡς ἔξαγγελῶν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπορεύετο. 17. τέλος δὲ πιστευθεὶς ὡς βοηθὸς εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ φρούριον· καὶ τέως μὲν συμπαρεσκεύαζεν ὁ τι δύναιτο τῷ φρουράρχῳ. ἐπει

him—aye, and would beg him to remain there until you went away."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "if he could but once get in, he would be in a position to put the fort in our hands?"

14. "That is at all events probable," answered Gobryas, "if he were within, helping with the preparations, while you on the outside made a vigorous attack."

"In that case," Cyrus replied, "go and try to explain these plans to him and win his coöperation and then return. And no better assurance of our good faith could you give him in word or deed than to show him what you happen to have received at our hands."

15. Thereupon Gobryas went away; and when Gadatas plays into the eunuch saw him, he gladly concurred in all the Cyrus's plans and settled with him the things they were hands to do.

So, when Gobryas reported back that all the proposals were heartily accepted by the eunuch, on the day following Cyrus made his attack and Gadatas his defence. And there was also a fort which Cyrus took, as Gadatas had indicated; 16. while of the messengers whom Cyrus sent with instructions which way to go, some Gadatas allowed to escape to bring the troops and fetch the ladders; but some he took and straitly examined in the presence of many witnesses, and when he heard from them the purpose of their journey, he made ready at once and set out in the night as if to give the alarm. 17. And the end was that he was trusted and entered the fort as an ally to defend it; and for a while he helped the commandant to the extent of his ability in making preparations; but when Cyrus came, he

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δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἦλθε, καταλαμβάνει τὸ χωρίον συνεργοὺς ποιησάμενος καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου αἰχμαλώτους.

18. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς [Γαδάτας]¹ ὁ εὐνοῦχος τὰ ἔνδον καταστήσας ἔξῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσκυνήσας εἶπε, Χαῖρε, Κῦρε.

19. Ἀλλὰ ποιῶ ταῦτ', ἔφη· σὺ γάρ με σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς οὐ κελεύεις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκάζεις χαίρειν. εὖ γάρ ἵσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγὼ μέγα ποιοῦμαι φίλιον τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοῖς ἐνθάδε συμμάχοις καταλείπων σοῦ δ', ἔφη, ὡ Γαδάτα, ὁ Ἀσσύριος παῖδας μέν, ὡς ἔστι, τὸ ποιεῖσθαι ἀφείλετο, οὐ μέντοι τό γε φίλους δύνασθαι κτᾶσθαι ἀπεστέρησεν ἀλλ' εὖ ἵσθι ὅτι ἡμᾶς τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ φίλους πεποίησαι, οἵ σοι, ἐὰν δυνώμεθα, πειρασθεθα μὴ χείρους βοηθοὶ παραστῆναι ἢ εἰ παῖδας ἐκγόνους ἔκέκτησο.

20. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Τρκάνιος ἄρτι ἥσθημένος τὸ γεγενημένον προσθεῖ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ λαβὼν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, Ὡ μέγα ἀγαθὸν σὺ τοῖς φίλοις Κῦρε, ὡς πολλήν με τοῖς θεοῖς ποιεῖς χάριν ὀφείλειν ὅτι σοί με συνήγαγον.

21. Ἰθι νῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον οὐπερ ἔνεκά με ἀσπάζει διατίθει αὐτὸ οὗτος ὡς ἀν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ φύλῳ πλείστου ἄξιον ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις, μάλιστα δ', ἔφη, Γαδάτᾳ τουτῷ,² δις ἡμῖν αὐτὸ λαβὼν παραδίδωσι.

¹ Γαδάτας MSS. ; bracketed by Zeune, Edd.

² τουτῷ Hirschig, Marchant, Gemoll ; τούτῳ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

made himself master of the place, employing also as Cyrus gains his assistants in seizing it those men of Cyrus's whom ^{the desired} he had taken prisoners.

18. When this was accomplished, the eunuch, after setting things in order within the fort, came out and did him obeisance according to the custom and said : "Joy be with you, Cyrus!"

19. "So it is," said he ; "for by the favour of the gods you not only bid me joy but even compel me to be joyful. For believe me, I consider it a great advantage to leave this place friendly to my allies in this country. From you, Gadatas," Cyrus went on, "the Assyrian has, it seems, taken away the power of begetting children, but at any rate he has not deprived you of the ability of acquiring friends. Let me assure you that by this deed you have made of us friends who will try, if we can, to stand by you and aid you no less efficiently than if we were your own children."

20. Thus he spoke ; and at this juncture the Hyrcanian king, who had just heard what had happened, ran up to Cyrus and taking his right hand said to him : "O what a blessing you are to your friends, Cyrus, and what a debt of gratitude to the gods you lay upon me, because they have brought me into association with you ! "

21. "Go then," said Cyrus, "take this fortress on account of which you congratulate me and so dispose of it that it may be of the most service to your people and to the rest of the allies, and especially," he added, "to Gadatas here, who gained possession of it and delivered it to us."

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22. Τί οὖν; ἔφη ὁ Ἐρκάνιος, ἐπειδὰν Καδούσιοι ἔλθωσι καὶ Σάκαι καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ πολῖται, καλέσω μεν καὶ τούτων,¹ ἵνα κοινῇ βουλευσώμεθα πάντες ὅσοις προσήκει πῶς ἀν συμφορώτατα χρόμεθα τῷ φρουρίῳ;

23. Ταῦτα μὲν οὗτω συνήνεσεν ὁ Κῦρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον οἵς ἔμελε περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου, ἐβούλευσαντο κοινῇ φυλάττειν οἰσπερ ἀγαθὸν ἥν φίλιον ὅν, ὅπως αὐτοῖς μὲν πρόβολος εἴη πολέμου, τοῖς δὲ Ἀσσυρίοις ἐπιτετεχισμένουν.

24. Τούτων γενομένων πολὺ δὴ προθυμότερον καὶ πλείους καὶ Καδούσιοι συνεστρατεύοντο καὶ Σάκαι καὶ Ἐρκάνιοι· καὶ συνελέγη ἐντεῦθεν στράτευμα Καδουσίων μὲν πελταστὰὶ εἰς δισμυρίους καὶ ἵππεῖς εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Σακῶν δὲ τοξόται εἰς μυρίους καὶ ἵπποτοξόται εἰς δισχιλίους· καὶ Ἐρκάνιοι δὲ πεζοῦς τε ὁπόσους ἐδύναντο προσεξέπεμψαν καὶ ἵππεας ἐξεπλήρωσαν εἰς δισχιλίους· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν καταλειμμένοι ἥσαν πλείους οἴκοι αὐτοῖς ἵππεῖς, ὅτι καὶ οἱ Καδούσιοι καὶ οἱ Σάκαι τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις πολέμιοι ἥσαν.

25. "Οσον δὲ χρόνον ἐκαθέζετο ὁ Κῦρος ἀμφὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ φρουριον οἰκονομίαν, τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπῆγον ἵππους, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπέφερον ὅπλα, φοβούμενοι ἥδη πάντας τοὺς προσχώρους.

26. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσέρχεται τῷ Κύρῳ ὁ Γαδάτας καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἥκουσιν αὐτῷ ἄγγελοι ὡς ὁ Ἀσσύριος, ἐπεὶ πύθοιτο τὰ περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου,

¹ τούτων Pantazides, most Edd.; τοῦτον MSS., Dindorf (i.e. the Hyrcanian).

22. "What then?" said the Hyrcanian. "When the Cadusians come and the Sacians and my people, are we to call in some of them also, that all of us who are concerned may consult together how we may use the fortress to the best advantage?"

23. To this plan Cyrus gave assent. And when all those who were interested in the fort were gathered together, they decided that it should be occupied in common by those to whose advantage it was to have it in the hands of friends, so that it might be an outwork for them in time of war and a base of operations against the Assyrians.

24. Because of this incident the Cadusians, Sacians, and Hyrcanians joined the expedition in greater numbers and with greatly increased zeal. And thereafter a new division was added to the army, consisting of Cadusians, about twenty thousand targeteers and about four thousand horsemen; of Sacians, about ten thousand bowmen and about two thousand mounted archers; while the Hyrcanians also sent as many more foot-soldiers as they could and filled up the ranks of their cavalry to the number of two thousand; for up to this time most of their cavalry had been left at home, because the Cadusians and the Sacians were enemies of the Assyrians.

25. Now during the time that Cyrus was busy with the arrangements about the fortress, many of the Assyrians of the country round about surrendered their horses and many laid down their arms, because now they were afraid of all their neighbours.

26. And after this, Gadatas came to Cyrus and said that messengers had come to him with the information that when the Assyrian king heard the country

The king
threatens to
invade
Gadatas's

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χαλεπῶς τε ἐνέγκοι καὶ συσκευάζοιτο ως ἐμβαλῶν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν. ἐὰν οὖν ἀφῆς με, ὁ Κῦρος, τὰ τείχη ἀν πειραθείην διασῶσαι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων μείων λόγος.

27. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἐὰν οὖν ἵης νῦν, πότε ἔσει οἴκοι;

Καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας εἶπεν, Εἰς τρίτην δειπνήσω ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ.

Ἔντοντος τὸν Ἀσσύριον, ἔφη, οἵτινες ἐκεῖ ἦδη καταλήψεσθαι;

Ἐν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, οἴδα· σπεύσει γὰρ ἔως ἔτι πρόσω δοκεῖς ἀπεῖναι.

28. Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ποσταῖος ἀν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκεῖσε ἀφικούμην;

Πρὸς τοῦτο δὴ ὁ Γαδάτας λέγει, Πολὺ ἦδη, ὁ δέσποτα, ἔχεις τὸ στράτευμα καὶ οὐκ ἀν δύναιο μεῖον ἢ ἐν ἑξ ἢ ἐπτὰ ἡμέραις ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκησιν.

Σὺ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπιθε ως τάχιστα· ἐγὼ δ' ως ἀν δυνατὸν ἢ πορεύσομαι.

29. Ο μὲν δὴ Γαδάτας φάγετο· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν συμμάχων· καὶ ἦδη πολλοί τε ἐδόκουν καὶ καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ παρεῖναι· ἐν οἷς δὴ λέγει ὁ Κῦρος ταῦτα·

30. Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, Γαδάτας διέπραξεν ἀδοκεῖ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πολλοῦ ἀξια εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸν καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν παθεῖν. νῦν δὲ ὁ Ἀσσύριος εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ ἐμβαλεῖν ἀγγέλλεται, δῆλον ὅτι ἄμα μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν βουλόμενος, ὅτι δοκεῖ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλα βεβλάφθαι· ἄμα δὲ ἵσως κάκεῦνο ἐννοεῖται ως εἰ οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφιστάμενοι μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνουν κακὸν

facts about the fortress, he was exceedingly wroth and was preparing to invade his country. "If, then, you will permit me to go, Cyrus, I should try to save the fortified places ; the rest is of less account."

27. "If you start now," said Cyrus, "when shall you reach home ?"

"The day after to-morrow," answered Gadatas, "I shall dine in my own land."

"But you do not think, do you, that you will find the Assyrian already there ?" said Cyrus.

"Nay, I am sure of it," he replied; "for he will make haste while he thinks you are still far away."

28. "How many days," asked Cyrus, "do you think it would take me with my army to get there ?"

"Sire," Gadatas made reply, "your army now is large and you could not reach my residence in less than six or seven days."

"Well," said Cyrus, "do you go as quickly as possible, and I will follow as best I can."

29. So Gadatas went away, and Cyrus summoned all the officers of the allies, and there seemed to be there now many noble men and brave. In this assembly, then, Cyrus spoke as follows :

30. "Friends and allies, Gadatas has done what seems a very valuable service to us all, and that, too, before receiving any favour whatsoever at our hands. And now comes the report that the Assyrian is going to invade his country, partly, as it seems plain, from a wish to punish him because he thinks Gadatas has done him a great wrong ; and perhaps also he understands that if those who desert him for us do not

Cyrus proposes that the whole army go to the relief of Gadatas

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πείσονται, οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐκείνῳ ὅντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολοῦνται, ὅτι τάχιστα οὐδένα εἰκὸς σὺν αὐτῷ βουλήσεσθαι εἶναι. 31. νῦν οὖν, ὁ ἄνδρες, καλόν τι ἂν μοι δοκοῦμεν ποιῆσαι, εἰ προθύμως Γαδάτᾳ βοηθήσαιμεν ἀνδρὶ εὐεργέτῃ· καὶ ἄμα δίκαια ποιοῦμεν ἂν χάριν ἀποδιδόντες· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ σύμφορά γ' ἂν, ὡς ἔμοὶ δοκεῖ, πράξαιμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. 32. εἰ γὰρ πᾶσι φαινούμεθα τοὺς μὲν κακῶς ποιοῦντας νικᾶν πειρώμενοι κακῶς ποιοῦντες, τοὺς δ' εὐεργετοῦντας ἀγαθοῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενοι, εἰκὸς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων φίλους μὲν πολλοὺς ἡμῖν βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι, ἔχθρὸν δὲ μηδένα ἐπιθυμεῖν εἶναι.

33. Εἰ δὲ ἀμελῆσαι δόξαιμεν Γαδάτου, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ποίους λόγους ἂν ἄλλον πείθοιμεν χαρίζεσθαι τι ἡμῖν; πῶς δ' ἂν τολμῷμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀντιβλέψαι τις ἡμῶν δύναιτο Γαδάτᾳ, εἰ ἡττώμεθ' αὐτοῦ εὖ ποιοῦντος τοσοῦτοι ὅντες ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ τούτου οὕτω διακειμένου;

34. Ὁ μὲν οὗτος ἐπεν· οἱ δὲ πάντες ἵσχυρῶς συνεπήγοντα ποιεῖν.

"Ἄγε τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμῖν συνδοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὑποξυγίοις καὶ ὀχήμασι καταλίπωμεν ἔκαστοι τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδειοτάτους πορεύεσθαι. Γωβρύας δ' ἡμῖν ἀρχέτω αὐτῶν καὶ ἥγείσθω αὐτοῖς. 35. καὶ γὰρ ὁδῶν ἔμπειρος καὶ τἄλλα ἰκανός ἡμεῖς δ', ἔφη, καὶ ἵπποις τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ ἀνδράσι πορευώμεθα, τάπιτή-

suffer any harm at his hands, while those who follow him are destroyed by us, the chances are that very soon no one will be willing to stay with him. 31. So now, my men, it seems to me that we should be doing what is fair, if we gave Gadatas, our benefactor, our heartiest assistance; and at the same time we should be doing only what is right in paying a debt of gratitude. But apart from that, it seems to me that we should be gaining an advantage for ourselves. 32. For if we should show every one that we try to surpass in doing harm those who do us harm, and that we surpass in well-doing those who do well by us, the consequences of such conduct would be that many would wish to become our friends and not one would desire to be our enemy.

33. "But should we decide to abandon Gadatas, with what arguments under heaven could we ever persuade any one else to do us a favour? How could we have the effrontery to approve our own conduct? And how could any one of us look Gadatas in the face, if, as numerous as we are, we should be surpassed in well-doing by one man and that one a man in such a plight as Gadatas is?"

34. Thus he spoke, and all heartily agreed to do as he said.

"Come then," he continued, "since you agree with these suggestions, and first, let us leave men in charge of the beasts of burden and the wagons, each division appointing such of their number as are best suited to go with them; and let Gobryas have command of them in our place and be their guide; 35. for he is acquainted with the roads and in other ways is qualified for that task. As for us, let us proceed with the most able-bodied men and horses,

The whole army goes to help Gadatas

The army accepts the proposal

The order of march

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δεια τριῶν ἡμερῶν λαβόντες· ὅσφ δ' ἀν κουφότερον συσκευασώμεθα καὶ εὐτελέστερον, τοσούτῳ ἥδιον τὰς ἐπιούσας ἡμέρας ἀριστήσομέν τε καὶ δειπνήσομεν καὶ καθευδήσομεν. 36. νῦν δ', ἔφη, πορευώμεθα ὅδε πρώτους μὲν ἄγε σύ, Χρυσάντα, τοὺς θωρακοφόρους, ἐπει δύναλή τε καὶ πλατεῖα ἡ ὁδός ἔστι, τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἔχων ἐν μετώπῳ πάντας· ἡ δὲ τάξις ἑκάστη ἔφ' ἐνὸς ἵτω· ἀθρόοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα πορευούμεθ' ἀν. 37. τούτου δ' ἔνεκα, ἔφη, κελεύω τοὺς θωρακοφόρους ἡγεῖσθαι δτι τοῦτο βραδύτατόν¹ ἔστι τοῦ στρατεύματος· τοῦ δὲ βραδυτάτου¹ ἡγουμένου ἀνάγκη ῥαδίως ἐπεσθαι πάντα τὰ θάττον ἴόντα· δταν δὲ τὸ τάχιστον ἡγῆται ἐν νυκτὶ, οὐδέν ἔστι θαυμαστὸν καὶ διασπᾶσθαι τὰ στρατεύματα· τὸ γὰρ προταχθὲν ἀποδιδράσκει.

38. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ἔφη, Ἀρτάβαζος τοὺς Περσῶν πελταστὰς καὶ τοξότας ἀγέτω· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἀνδαμύας ὁ Μῆδος τὸ Μῆδων πεζόν.² ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἐμβας τὸ Ἀρμενίων πεζόν.² ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἀρτούχας Τρκανίους· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Θαμβράδας τὸ Σακῶν πεζόν.² ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Δατάμας Καδουσίους. 39. ἀγόντων δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἐν μετώπῳ μὲν τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἔχοντες, δεξιοὺς δὲ τοὺς πελταστάς, ἀριστεροὺς δὲ τοὺς τοξότας τοῦ ἑαυτῶν πλαισίου· οὕτω γὰρ πορευόμενοι καὶ εὐχρηστότεροι γίγνονται. 40. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ σκευοφόροι, ἔφη, πάντων ἐπέσθων· οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν ἐπιμελέσθων ὅπως συνεσκευα-

¹ βραδύτατον (and βραδυτάτου) Cobet, Hirschig, Marchant, Gemoll; βαρύτατον (and βαρυτάτου) MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach. ² πεζόν Dindorf, Edd.; πεζικόν MSS.

taking with us three days' provisions. For the more lightly and simply equipped we go, the more we shall enjoy our luncheon and dinner and sleep in the days to follow. 36. And now let us march in the following order: Chrysantas, do you lead in the van the men armed with breastplates, for the road is smooth and wide. Have all your captains in front, each company following in single file; for, massed together, we can march with the greatest speed and the greatest safety. 37. And the reason why I direct the men armed with breastplates to lead the march is that they are the slowest portion of the army; and when the slowest lead, then all the more quickly moving troops can follow easily, as a matter of course. But when at night the light forces lead, it is not at all a strange thing for the line to be broken and a gap formed, for the vanguard outstrips the rear.

38. "Next let Artabazus follow at the head of the Persian targeteers and bowmen; following him, Andamyas, the Mede, in command of the Median infantry; next, Embas with the Armenian infantry; then, Artuchas with the Hyrcanians; he will be followed by Thambradas at the head of the Sacian infantry force and Datamas with that of the Cadusians. 39. Let these all lead the way with their captains in front, the targeteers on the right and the archers on the left of their own squares; for, marching thus, they are more easily handled. 40. Next to these the camp-followers of all the army are to follow; their officers should see to it that they have everything ready packed up before they sleep,

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σμένοι τε ὥσι πάντα πρὶν καθεύδειν καὶ πρὸ σὺν τοῖς σκεύεσι παρῷσιν εἰς τὴν τεταγμένην χώραν καὶ δπως κοσμίως ἔπωνται.

41. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σκευοφόροις, ἔφη, τοὺς Πέρσας ἵππεας Μαδάτας ὁ Πέρσης ἀγέτω, ἔχων καὶ οὗτος τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχους τῶν ἵππεων ἐν μετώπῳ· ὁ δὲ ἑκατόνταρχος τὴν τάξιν ἀγέτω εἰς ἕνα, ὡσπερ οἱ πέζαρχοι. 42. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥαμβάκας ὁ Μῆδος ὡσαύτως τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἵππεας· ἐπὶ τούτοις σὺ, ὁ Τιγράνη, τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἵππικόν· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἵππαρχοι μεθ' ὧν ἔκαστοι ἀφίκοντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐπὶ τούτοις Σάκαι ἄγετε· ἔσχατοι δέ, ὡσπερ ἡλθον, Καδούσιοι λόντων. Ἀλκεύνα, σὺ δὲ ὁ ἄγων αὐτοὺς ἐπιμέλου τὸ νῦν εἶναι πάντων τῶν δπισθεν καὶ μηδένα ἔα ὕστερον τῶν σῶν ἵππεων γίγνεσθαι.

43. Ἐπιμέλεσθε δὲ τοῦ σιωπῆ πορεύεσθαι οἵ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ σωφρονοῦντες· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ὕτων ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἡ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔκαστα καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι· καὶ τὸ ταραχθῆναι δὲ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πολὺ μεῖζόν ἐστι πρᾶγμα ἡ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ δυσκαταστατώτερον. 44. οὐ ἔνεκα ἡ τε σιωπὴ ἀσκητέα καὶ ἡ τάξις φυλακτέα.

Τὰς δὲ νυκτερινὰς φυλακάς, ὅταν μέλλητε νυκτὸς ἀναστήσεσθαι, χρὴ ὡς βραχυτάτας καὶ πλείστας ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς μηδένα ἡ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἀγρυπνίᾳ πολλὴ οὖσα λυμαίνηται ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ· ἥνικα δὲ ἀν ὥρα ἡ πορεύεσθαι, σημαίνειν τῷ κέρατι. 45. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔχοντες ἂ δεῖ ἔκαστοι πάρ-

and early in the morning let them be present with the baggage at the appointed place, ready to follow the march in proper order.

41. "After the camp-followers let Madatas, the Persian, bring up the Persian cavalry; let him also arrange the cavalry captains in front, and let each captain lead his company in single file, just like the infantry officers. 42. After them will come Rhambacas, the Mede, with his cavalry in the same order; after them you, Tigranes, with yours, and the rest of the cavalry officers, each with the forces with which he joined us. After them you Sacians are to fall in line; and last of all, just as they came, the Cadusians will bring up the rear; and you, Alceunas, who are their commander, for the present look out for all in the rear and do not allow any one to fall behind your horsemen.

43. "Take care to march in silence, both officers and all who are wise; for in the night there is more need to use ears than eyes to secure information and to have things done. And to be thrown into confusion in the night is a much more serious matter than in the daytime and one more difficult to remedy. 44. Therefore let silence be maintained, and let the prescribed order be preserved.

"And the night watches, whenever you are to start off before daylight, must be made as short and as numerous as possible, so that want of sleep on account of doing sentinel duty may not be serious and exhaust the men for the march. And when the hour for starting comes, let the signal be given on the horn. 45. And then do you all, with whatever

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εστε εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ὁδόν· ὁ δὲ ὄρμώ-
μενος ἀεὶ τῷ κατ' οὐράνι παρεγγυάτῳ ἔπεσθαι.

46. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὠχούντο ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ
ἄμα ἀπιόντες διελέγοντο πρὸς ἄλληλους ὡς μη-
μονικῶς ὁ Κῦρος ὅπόσοις συνέταττε πᾶσιν¹
ὄνομάζων ἐνετέλλετο. 47. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπιμελεῖα
τοῦτο ἐποίει πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει θαυμαστὸν
εἶναι εἰ οἱ μὲν βάναυσοι ἵσασι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης
ἔκαστος τῶν ἐργαλείων τὰ δνόματα, καὶ ὁ ἱατρὸς
δὲ οἶδε καὶ τῶν ὄργάνων καὶ τῶν φαρμάκων οὓς
χρήται πάντων τὰ δνόματα, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς οὗτος
ἡλίθιος ἔσοιτο ὥστε οὐκ εἴσοιτο τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ
ἡγεμόνων τὰ δνόματα, οὓς ἀνάγκη ἔστιν αὐτῷ
ὄργανοις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὅταν καταλαβεῖν τι βού-
ληται καὶ ὅταν φυλάξαι καὶ ὅταν θαρρῦναι καὶ
ὅταν φοβῆσαι καὶ τιμῆσαι δὲ ὅπότε τινὰ βού-
λοιτο, πρέπον αὐτῷ ἐδόκει εἶναι δνομαστὶ προσ-
αγορεύειν. 48. ἐδόκουν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ γυγνώσκεσθαι
δοκοῦντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχοντος καὶ τοῦ καλόν τι
ποιοῦντες ὄρασθαι μᾶλλον ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦ
αἰσχρόν τι ποιεῖν μᾶλλον προθυμεῖσθαι ἀπέχε-
σθαι. 49. ἡλίθιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδόκει εἶναι αὐτῷ
τὸ ὅπότε τι βούλοιτο πραχθῆναι, οὕτω προστάτ-
τειν ὥσπερ ἐν οἴκῳ ἔνιοι δεσπόται προστάττουσιν,
"Ιτω τις ἐφ' ὕδωρ, Ξύλα τις σχισάτω· 50. οὕτω
γὰρ προστατομένων εἰς ἄλληλους τε ὄρāν πάντες
ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδεὶς περαίνειν τὸ προσταχθὲν
καὶ πάντες ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶναι καὶ οὐδεὶς τῇ αἰτίᾳ
οὕτε αἰσχύνεσθαι οὔτε φοβεῖσθαι ὄμοίως διὰ
τὸ σὺν πολλοῖς αἰτίαν ἔχειν· διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πάντας

¹ πᾶσιν Heindorf, Edd.; πᾶς MSS.

is necessary, step out into the road to Babylon ; and let each commander, as he gets his division in motion, pass the word to the man behind him to come on."

46. Hereupon they went to their tents, and, as Cyrus's memory for names they went, they remarked to one another what a good memory Cyrus had and how he called every one by name as he assigned them their places and gave them their instructions. 47. Now Cyrus made a study of this; for he thought it passing strange that, while every mechanic knows the names of the tools of his trade and the physician knows the names of all the instruments and medicines he uses, the general should be so foolish as not to know the names of the officers under him ; and yet he must employ them as his instruments not only whenever he wishes to capture a place or defend one, but also whenever he wishes to inspire courage or fear. And whenever Cyrus wished to honour any one, it seemed to him proper to address him by name. 48. Furthermore, it seemed to him that those who were conscious of being personally known to their general exerted themselves more to be seen doing something good and were more ready to abstain from doing anything bad. 49. And when he wanted a thing done, he thought it foolish to give orders as do some masters in their homes : "Some one go get water!" "Some one split wood!" 50. for when orders are given in that way, all, he thought, looked at one another and no one carried out the order ; all were to blame, but no one felt shame or fear as he should, because he shared the blame with many. It was for this reason, therefore, that he himself spoke to every one by name to whom

ωνόμαζεν αὐτὸς ὅτῳ τι προστάττοι. 51. καὶ Κῦρος μὲν δὴ περὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐγίγνωσκεν.

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι πάντα ἂ ἔδει ἐκοιμήθησαν. 52. ἡνίκα δ' ἦν μέσωφ νυκτῶν, ἐσῆμην τῷ κέρατι. Κῦρος δὲ εἰπὼν τῷ Χρυσάντᾳ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ὑπομενοί ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔξήει λαβῶν τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὑπηρέτας· βραχεῖ δὲ χρόνῳ ὑστερον Χρυσάντας παρῆν ἄγων τοὺς θωρακοφόρους. 53. τούτῳ μὲν ὁ Κῦρος δοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ πορεύεσθαι ἐκέλευεν ἡσύχως· οὐ γάρ πω ἐν ὁδῷ πάντες ἥσαν¹ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐστηκὼς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τὸν μὲν προσιόντα προυπέμπετο ἐν τάξει, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ὑστερίζοντα ἔπειμπε καλῶν. 54. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ἐν ὁδῷ ἥσαν, πρὸς μὲν Χρυσάνταν ἵππέας ἔπειμψεν ἐροῦντας ὅτι ἐν ὁδῷ ἥδη πάντες· Ἀγε οὖν ἥδη θᾶττον. 55. αὐτὸς δὲ παρελαύνων τὸν ἵππον εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἥσυχος κατεθεάτο τὰς τάξεις. καὶ οὖς μὲν ἦδοι εὔτάκτως καὶ σιωπῆ ἴόντας, προσελαύνων αὐτοῖς τίνες τε εἶν τὴν ἥρωτα καὶ ἐπεὶ πύθοιτο ἐπήνει· εἰ δέ τινας θορυβουμένους αἴσθοιτο, τὸ αἴτιον τούτου σκοπῶν κατασθεννύαι τὴν ταραχὴν ἐπειράτο.

56. Ἐν μόνον παραλέλειπται τῆς ἐν νυκτὶ ἐπιμελείας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος πεζοὺς εὐζώνους οὐ πολλοὺς προύπεμπεν, ἐφορωμένους ὑπὸ Χρυσάντα καὶ ἐφορῶντας αὐτόν, ὡς ὠτακουστοῦντες καὶ εἰ πως ἄλλως δύναιντο αἰσθάνεσθαι τι, σημαίνοιεν τῷ Χρυσάντᾳ ὃ τι

¹ ἡσύχως . . . ἥσαν xz, Edd.; ἥσυχον ἔως ἄγγελος ἔλθοι δτι πάντες ἐν ὁδῷ yR.

he had any command to give. 51. Such, at least, was Cyrus's opinion about this matter.

The soldiers, however, then went to dinner, stationed sentinels, packed up everything they needed, and went to bed. 52. At midnight the signal horn sounded. Cyrus informed Chrysantas that he would wait for him on the road ahead of the army, took with him his aides-de-camp, and went on; and a short time afterward Chrysantas came up at the head of his heavy-armed soldiers. 53. To him Cyrus turned over the guides and bade him advance leisurely, for the troops were not yet all on the way. He himself took his stand by the roadside, and as the troops came on he sent them forward in their order, and to those who were late he sent a messenger to bid them hasten. 54. And when they were all on the road, he sent some horsemen to Chrysantas to say that they were now all on the way; "Now then, double quick!" 55. He himself riding his horse leisurely along to the front inspected the ranks; and to those whom he saw marching along in silence and in good order he would ride up and inquire who they were, and when he was informed he would praise them. But if he saw any in confusion, he would inquire into the cause of it and try to quiet the disorder.

56. Only one of his measures of precaution that night has been left unmentioned—namely, that he sent out in front of the main body of the army a few light-armed infantrymen to keep Chrysantas in sight and be kept in sight by him, to listen and gather information in whatever way they could, and report to Chrysantas what it seemed expedient that he

The mid-night march

XENOPHON

καιρὸς δοκοίη εἶναι· ἄρχων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις
ἥν δις καὶ τούτους ἐκόσμει, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄξιον λόγου
ἐσήμαινε, τὸ δὲ μὴ οὐκ ἡνώχλει λέγων.

57. Τὴν μὲν δὴ υὔκτα οὕτως ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν Καδουσίων ἵππεας,
ὅτι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἔσχατοι, παρὰ
τούτοις κατέλιπεν, ὡς μηδὲ οὗτοι ψιλοὶ ἵππεων
ἴοιεν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν παρελαύνειν
ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν
ἡσαν, ὅπως εἴ τί που ἐναντιόντο αὐτῷ, ἀπαντῷ
ἔχων τὴν ἴσχυν ἐν τάξει καὶ μάχοιτο, εἴ τέ τι
που φεῦγον ὀφθείη, ὡς ἐξ ἑτοιμοτάτου διώκοι.
58. ἡσαν δὲ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ τεταγμένοι οὓς τε διώκειν
δέοι καὶ οὓς παρ' αὐτῷ μένειν· πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν
τάξιν λυθῆναι οὐδέποτε εἴα.

59. Κῦρος μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἥγε τὸ στράτευμα· οὐ
μέντοι αὐτός γε μᾶς χώρᾳ ἔχρητο, ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε
ἄλλαχῇ περιελαύνων ἐφεώρα τε καὶ ἐπεμέλετο,
εἴ του δέοιντο.

Oἱ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κύρου οὕτως ἐπορεύοντο.

IV

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Γαδάτου ἵππικοῦ τῶν δυνατῶν
τις ἀνδρῶν ἐπεὶ ἔώρα αὐτὸν ἀφεστηκότα ἀπὸ
τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου, ἐνόμισεν, εἴ τι οὗτος πάθοι, αὐτὸς
ἄν λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου πάντα τὰ Γαδάτου·

should know. There was also an officer in command of them who kept them in order, and what was of importance he communicated to Chrysantas, but he did not trouble him by reporting what was immaterial.

57. In this manner, therefore, they proceeded all night long; but when it became day, he left the cavalry of the Cadusians with their infantry (for these also were in the extreme rear), so that the latter might not be without the protection of cavalry; but the rest he ordered to ride up to the front, because the enemy were in front. He adopted this plan, in order that, if he happened to find any opposition, he might have his forces in fighting order to meet it, and that, if anything should be seen anywhere in flight, he might give chase with the utmost readiness. 58. He always kept drawn up in order one body of troops who were to pursue and another who were to stay with him; but he never suffered his main line to be broken.

59. Thus, then, Cyrus led his army; but he himself did not keep to the same position, but riding about, now here, now there, kept watch, and if they needed anything, he provided for it.

Thus, then, Cyrus and his army were proceeding.

IV

1. Now there was a certain man among the officers of Gadatas's cavalry who, when he saw that his prince had revolted from the Assyrian, concluded that if some misfortune were to overtake Gadatas, he might himself obtain from the Assyrian all his chief's wealth

XENOPHON

οὗτω δὴ πέμπει τινὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πιστῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον καὶ κελεύει τὸν ἴόντα, εἰ καταλάβοι ἥδη ἐν τῇ Γαδάτου χώρᾳ τὸ Ἀσσύριον στράτευμα, λέγειν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὅτι εἴ βούλοιτο ἐνεδρεῦσαι, λάβοι ἀν Γαδάταν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. 2. δῆλοῦν δὲ ἐνετέλλετο ὅσην τε εἶχεν ὁ Γαδάτας δύναμιν καὶ ὅτι Κῦρος οὐ συνέποιτο αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδήλωσεν οὐ προσιέναι μέλλοι. προσεπέστειλε δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ οἰκέταις, ὡς πιστεύοιτο μᾶλλον, καὶ τὸ τεῦχος ὃ ἐτύγχανεν αὐτὸς ἔχων ἐν τῇ Γαδάτου χώρᾳ παραδοῦναι τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα. ἥξειν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὲν δύναιτο, ἀποκτείνας Γαδάταν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς σὺν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐσόμενος.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ταχθεὶς ἐλαύνων ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν τάχιστα ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον καὶ ἐδήλωσεν ἐφ' ἂ ἥκοι, ἀκούσας ἐκεῖνος τό τε χωρίον εὐθὺς παρέλαβε καὶ πολλὴν ἵππον ἔχων καὶ ἄρματα ἐνήδρευεν ἐν κώμαις ἀθρόαις.

4. Ὁ δὲ Γαδάτας ὡς ἐγγὺς ἦν τούτων τῶν κωμῶν, πέμπει τινὰς προδιερευνησομένους. ὁ δὲ Ἀσσύριος ὡς ἔγνω προσιόντας τοὺς διερευνητάς, φεύγειν κελεύει ἄρματα ἔξαναστάντα δύο ἢ τρία καὶ ἵππους ὀλίγους, ὡς δὴ φοβηθέντας καὶ ὀλίγους ὄντας. οἱ δὲ διερευνηταὶ ὡς εἶδον ταῦτα, αὐτοὶ τε ἐδίωκον καὶ τῷ Γαδάτῃ κατέσειον· καὶ δι-

and power. With this in view, he sent one of his trusted friends to the Assyrian, instructing his messenger, in case he found the Assyrian army already in Gadatas's country, to tell their king that if he would lay an ambuscade, he would take Gadatas and his followers prisoners. 2. He furthermore commissioned him to explain how small an army Gadatas had and to make it clear that Cyrus was not with him ; he also pointed out the road by which Gadatas was likely to return ; and, that he might find fuller credence, he instructed his own subordinates to surrender to the Assyrian king, together with all that was in it, the fortress which he himself happened to be holding in Gadatas's country. He promised besides that he would come himself when he had slain Gadatas, if he could, but that, if he failed in the attempt, at least he would in future be on the king's side.

3. And the man who had been given this commission rode as fast as his horse could carry him ; he came into the presence of the Assyrian king and made known the purpose of his coming. When the king heard it, he at once took possession of the fortress and with a large force of horse and chariots laid his ambuscade in a cluster of villages.

4. When Gadatas was not far from these villages, he sent some scouts on in advance to make a thorough search. And when the Assyrian was informed of the scouts' approach, he ordered two or three chariots and several horsemen to start up and gallop off as if they were affrighted and only a few in number. When the scouts saw that, they started in pursuit themselves and beckoned to Gadatas to come on. He, too, was deceived and started at full speed in

The plot
almost
succeeds

έξαπατηθεὶς διώκει ἀνὰ κράτος. οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι, ὡς ἔδοκει ἀλώσιμος εἶναι ὁ Γαδάτας, ἀνίστανται ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Γαδάταν ἰδόντες ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐδίωκον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ Γαδάτᾳ παίει αὐτόν, καὶ καιρίας μὲν πληγῆς ἀμαρτάνει, τύπτει δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ὕμον καὶ τιτρώσκει.

Ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο ἔξισταται, ἔως σὺν τοῖς διώκουσιν ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγνώσθη ὃς ἦν, ὁμοῦ δὴ ὃν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις προθύμως ἐκτείνων τὸν ἵππον σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐδίωκεν. 6. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἡλίσκοντο μὲν δῆλον ὅτι οἱ βραδυτάτους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ὑπὸ τῶν ταχίστους.¹ ἦδη δὲ μάλα πάντες πιεζόμενοι διὰ τὸ κατατερῦσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας οἱ τοῦ Γαδάτου ἵππεῖς καθορῶσι τὸν Κύρον προσιόντα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι· δοκεῖν δὲ χρὴ ἀσμένους καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα ἐκ χειμῶνος προσφέρεσθαι αὐτούς. 7. ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐθαύμασεν· ως δὲ ἔγνω τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἔως πάντες ἐναντίοις ἤλαυνον, ἐναντίος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τάξει ἦγε τὴν στρατιάν· ως δὲ γνόντες οἱ πολέμοι τὸ δὲ ἐτράποντο εἰς φυγήν, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κύρος διώκειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένους, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴπετο ως φέτο συμφέρειν. 8. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ ἄρματα ἡλίσκετο, ἐνια μὲν καὶ ἐκπιπτόντων τῶν ἡνιόχων, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ἐνια δὲ καὶ περιτεμνόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππεων

¹ ταχίστους Cobet, most Edd.; ταχίστων MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

pursuit. The Assyrians, in turn, when they thought Gadatas near enough to be taken, issued from their ambuscade. 5. And when Gadatas and his men saw this, they began to flee, as was natural; and the enemy, as was also natural, started in pursuit. At this juncture, the man who was plotting against Gadatas struck a blow at him but failed to inflict a mortal wound; still he smote him on the shoulder and wounded him.

When he had done this, he darted off to join the pursuing Assyrians; and when they recognized who he was, he took his place with them and urging his horse at full speed he joined with the king in the pursuit. 6. Then those who had the slowest horses were evidently being overtaken by those who had the fleetest; and just as Gadatas's men were becoming quite exhausted, because they were already jaded and worn out by their march, they saw Cyrus coming up with his army, and one may imagine that they rushed up to them with delight, like men putting into port out of a storm. 7. At first Cyrus was surprised; but when he comprehended the situation, he continued, while the enemy were all riding against him, to lead his army in battle order against them. But the enemy, recognizing the real state of affairs, turned and fled. Thereupon Cyrus ordered those who had been detailed for that purpose to start in pursuit, while he himself followed as he thought expedient. 8. Here chariots also were captured, some because the charioteers were thrown out, a part of them from wheeling around too sharply, others for other reasons, while some were intercepted by the cavalry and

Cyrus saves
the day

[ἡλίσκετο].¹ καὶ ἀποκτείνουσι δὲ ἄλλους πε-
πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν παισαντα Γαδάταν. 9. τῶν
μέντοι πεζῶν Ἀσσυρίων, οἱ ἔτυχον τὸ Γαδάτου
χωρὸν πολιορκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος κατέ-
φυγον τὸ ἀπὸ Γαδάτου ἀποστάν, οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες
εἰς πόλιν τινὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου μεγάλην, ἔνθα καὶ
αὐτὸς σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τοῖς ἄρμασι κατ-
έφυγεν ὁ Ἀσσύριος.

10. Κῦρος μὲν δὴ διαπραξάμενος ταῦτα ἐπανα-
χωρεῖ εἰς τὴν Γαδάτου χώραν· καὶ προστάξας οὓς
ἔδει ἀμφὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἔχειν, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο,
ὡς ἐπισκέψαιτο τὸν Γαδάταν πῶς ἔχοι ἐκ τοῦ
τραύματος. πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Γαδάτας
ἐπιδεδεμένος ἥδη τὸ τραῦμα ἀπαντᾷ. ἵδων δὲ
αὐτὸν ὁ Κῦρος ἥσθη τε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς
σὲ ἡὰ ἐπισκεψόμενος ὅπως ἔχεις.

11. Ἐγὼ δέ γ', ἔφη ὁ Γαδάτας, ναὶ μὰ τοὺς
θεοὺς σὲ ἐπαναθεασόμενος ἡὰ ὅποιός τίς ποτε
φαίνει ἵδεν ὁ τοιαύτην ψυχὴν ἔχων. ὅστις οὔτ'
οἰδα ἔγωγε ὅ τι νῦν ἐμοῦ δεόμενος οὔτε μὴν ὑπο-
σχόμενός γέ μοι ταῦτα πράξειν οὔτε εὖ πεπονθὼς
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰς γε τὸ ἴδιον οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς
φίλους ἔδοξά σοι τι ὀνῆσαι, οὕτω μοι προθύμως
ἔβοήθησας ὡς νῦν τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ οἰχομαι, τὸ δ'
ἐπὶ σοὶ σέσωσμαι. 12. οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ὁ
Κῦρε, εἰ ἦν οἷς ἔφυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐπαιδοποιησά-
μην, οὐκ οἶδ' ἀν εἰ ἐκτησάμην παιδα τοιοῦτον
περὶ ἐμέ· ἐπεὶ ἄλλους τε οἶδα παιδας καὶ τοῦτον
τὸν νῦν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα πολὺ πλείω ἥδη τὸν
ἴαυτον πατέρα ἀνιάσαντα ἡ σὲ νῦν δύναται ἀνιᾶν.

¹ ἡλίσκετο, MSS., Hug; bracketed by Marchant, Gemoll.

taken. And many men were slain, and among them the man who had wounded Gadatas. 9. Of the Assyrian infantry, however, who happened to be besieging Gadatas's fortress, some fled to that fort which had been lost to Gadatas by betrayal, others had time to reach a large city of Assyria, in which the king himself with his horsemen and chariots also took refuge.

10. Now when Cyrus finished his pursuit of the enemy, he returned to Gadatas's country; and after he had given instructions to those whose duty it was to take care of the spoil, he went at once to visit Gadatas and see how his wound was. But as he was going, he was met by Gadatas with his wound already bandaged. And Cyrus was delighted at seeing him and said: "Why, I was coming to see how you were."

11. "And I, by the gods," said Gadatas, "was ^{Gadatas shows his gratitude} coming to gaze upon you again and see what you may look like, you who possess such a soul. For though I do not see what need you now have of my assistance, and though you made no promise to do this for me and have been put under no obligation whatever to me, at least no personal obligation, yet because you fancied that I had given some assistance to your friends, you have come so gallantly to my relief that at this moment, whereas by myself I am a lost man, by your goodness I am saved. 12. By the gods, Cyrus, if I were such a man as once I was and had children, I doubt if I could have had a child as kind to me as you have ~~been~~; for I know that this present king of Assyria, like many another son that I have known, has caused his own father much more trouble than he can now cause you."

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13. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν ὥδε· ὩΓαδάτα, η̄ πολὺ μεῖζον παρεὶς θαῦμα ἔμε νῦν θαυμάζεις.

Καὶ τί δὴ τοῦτ' ἔστιν; ἔφη ὁ Γαδάτας.

"Οτι τοσοῦτοι μέν, ἔφη, Περσῶν ἐσπούδασαν περὶ σέ, τοσοῦτοι δὲ Μήδων, τοσοῦτοι δὲ Ἐρκανίων, πάντες δὲ οἱ παρόντες Ἀρμενίων καὶ Σακῶν καὶ Καδουσίων.

14. Καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας ἐπηγέρατο, 'Αλλ', ὡς Ζεῦ, ἔφη, καὶ τούτοις πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ δοῖεν οἱ θεοί, καὶ πλεῖστα τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ καὶ τούτους τοιούτους εἶναι. ὅπως μέντοι οὓς ἐπαινεῖς τούτους, ὡς Κύρε, ξενίσωμεν καλῶς, δέχου τάδε ξένια οὐα ἐγὼ δοῦναι¹ δύναμαι.

"Αμα δὲ προσῆγε πάμπολλα, ὥστε καὶ θύειν τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ ξενίζεσθαι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ἀξίως τῶν καλῶς πεποιημένων καὶ καλῶς συμβάντων.

15. Ο δὲ Καδούσιος ὠπισθοφυλάκει καὶ οὐ μετέσχε τῆς διώξεως· βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς λαμπρόν τι ποιῆσαι, οὔτε ἀνακοινωσάμενος οὔτε εἰπὼν οὐδὲν Κύρῳ καταθεῖ τὴν πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα χώραν. διεσπασμένοις δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτοῦ ἀπὶὸν ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεως, οἱ² κατέφυγε, συντυγχάνει μάλα συντεταγμένον ἔχων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα. 16. ὡς δὲ ἔγνω μόνους δυτας τοὺς Καδουσίους, ἐπιτίθεται, καὶ τόν τε ἄρχοντα τῶν Καδουσίων ἀποκτείνει καὶ ἄλλους

¹ δοῦναι supplied by Laar, most Edd.; not in MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

² οἱ Dindorf, most Edd.; οὗ MSS., Breitenbach.

13. " You fail to notice a much greater wonder, Gadatas, when you now express your wonder at me," Cyrus made reply.

" And what is that, pray ? " asked Gadatas.

" That so many Persians have shown their interest in you," he answered, " and so many Medes and Hyrcanians, and all the Armenians, Sacians, and Cadusians here present."

14. " O Zeus," said Gadatas in prayer, " I pray that the gods may grant many blessings to them and most of all to him who is responsible for their being so generous toward me. But, Cyrus, in order that we may entertain handsomely these men whom you have been praising, accept as gifts of friendship these trifles, such as I can give."

At the same time he had a great many things brought out, so that any one who wished might sacrifice and that the whole army might be entertained in a manner worthy of their deeds of glory and the glorious issue.

15. The Cadusian prince had been guarding the rear and had no share in the pursuit ; so, wishing to do something brilliant on his own account, he went off, without consulting Cyrus or saying anything to him, to make a foray into the country toward Babylon. And as the Cadusian cavalry were scattered, the Assyrian, returning from his city in which he had taken refuge, came suddenly upon them with his own army in battle array. 16. And when he discovered that the Cadusians were alone, he made an attack, slew the commander of the Cadusians and many

The
Cadusian
fiasco

πολλούς, καὶ ἵππους τεινάς λαμβάνει τῶν Καδουσίων καὶ ἦν ἄγοντες λείαν ἐτύγχανον ἀφαιρεῖται. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀσσύριος διώξας ἄχρι οὐ ἀσφαλὲς φέτο εἶναι ἀπετράπετο· οἱ δὲ Καδούσιοι ἐσώζοντο πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀμφὶ δείλην οἱ πρῶτοι.

17. Κῦρος δὲ ὡς γῆσθετο τὸ γεγονός, ἀπήντα τε τοῖς Καδουσίοις καὶ ὅντινα ἔδοι τετρωμένον ἀναλαμβάνων τοῦτον μὲν ὡς Γαδάταν ἔπειπεν, δπως θεραπεύοιτο, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους συγκατεσκήνου καὶ δπως τάπιτήδεια ἔξουσι συνεπεμέλετο, παραλαμβάνων Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων συνεπιμελητάς· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἐπιπονεῦν ἔθέλουσι. 18. καὶ ἀνιώμενος μέντοι ἴσχυρῶς δῆλος ἦν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δειπνούντων ἥνικα ὥρα ἦν, Κῦρος ἔτι σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς οὐδένα ἐκῶν ἀτημέλητον παρέλειπεν; ἀλλ' ἡ αὐτόπτης ἐφεώρα ἡ εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ἔξανύτοι, πέμπων φανερὸς ἦν τοὺς θεραπεύσοντας.

19. Καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κηρύξας συνιέναι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, τοὺς δὲ Καδουσίους ἅπαντας, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ἀνθρώπινον τὸ γεγενημένον· τὸ γὰρ ἀμαρτάνειν ἀνθρώπους ὅντας οὐδὲν οἷμαι θαυμαστόν. ἄξιοί γε μέντοι ἐσμὲν τοῦ γεγενημένου πράγματος τούτου ἀπολαῦσαι τι ἀγαθόν, τὸ μαθεῖν μήποτε διασπᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου δύναμιν ἀσθενεστέραν τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως. 20. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο, ἔφη, λέγω ὡς οὐ δεῖ ποτε καὶ ἐλάτ-

others, took some of their horses, and recovered the spoil which they happened to be carrying off. He also pursued them as far as he thought was safe and then turned back. So the survivors of the Cadusians arrived at the camp, the first of them towards evening.

17. When Cyrus found out what had happened, he went out to meet them, and if he saw any one that was wounded he received him kindly and sent him on to Gadatas, that he might receive attention; the rest he helped into their tents and saw to it that they should have provisions, taking some of the Persian peers along to help him in looking after them. For under such circumstances, the good are ready to undertake extra labour. 18. Still Cyrus was evidently very much distressed, so that, when the rest went to dinner at the usual hour, he with his aides and the surgeons did not go; for he would not wittingly leave any uncared for, but either looked after them in person, or, if he did not succeed in doing that, he showed his personal interest by sending some one to attend to them.

19. Thus they went to sleep that evening. At daybreak he made proclamation for all the Cadusians and the officers of the rest to assemble; and he addressed them as follows:

"Friends and allies, that which has happened might happen to any man; for it is not at all strange, I think, for mortal man to err. Still it is worth our while to reap some benefit from this occurrence, the lesson never to detach from our main body a force weaker than the forces of the enemy. 20. I do not mean by that that we should never go off, if circumstances require it, with a still smaller de-

Cyrus cares
for the
survivors

τονι ἔτι μορίῳ ιέναι, ὅπου ἀν δέη, ἢ νῦν ὁ Καδούσιος φέρετο· ἀλλ' ἐάν τις κοινούμενος ὄρμάται τῷ ἵκανῳ βοηθῆσαι, ἔστι μὲν ἀπατηθῆναι, ἔστι δὲ τῷ ὑπομένοντι ἐξαπατήσαντι τοὺς πολεμίους ἄλλοσε τρέψαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων, ἔστι δὲ ἄλλα παρέχοντα πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῖς φίλοις ἀσφάλειαν παρέχειν· καὶ οὕτω μὲν οὐδὲ ὁ χωρὶς ὧν ἀπέσται, ἀλλ' ἐξαρτήσεται τῆς ἴσχύος· ὁ δὲ ἀπεληλυθὼς μὴ ἀνακοινωσάμενος, ὅπου ἀν γῆ, οὐδὲν διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ μόνος ἐστρατεύετο.

21. Ἐάντι μὲν τούτου, ἔφη, ἐὰν θεὸς θέλῃ, ἀμυνούμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ εἰς μακράν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἀριστήσητε, ἄξω ὑμᾶς ἐνθα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο· καὶ ἂμα μὲν θάψομεν τοὺς τελευτήσαντας, ἂμα δὲ δείξομεν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνθα κρατῆσαι νομίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἄλλους αὐτῶν κρείττους, ἢν θεὸς θέλῃ· καὶ ὅπως γε μηδὲ τὸ χωρίον ἡδέως ὄρωσιν ἐνθα κατέκανον ἡμῶν τοὺς συμμάχους· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀντεπεξίωσι, καύσομεν αὐτῶν τὰς κώμας καὶ δηώσομεν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μὴ ἡ ἡμᾶς ἐποίησαν ὄρωντες εὐφραίνωνται, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ θεώμενοι ἀνιῶνται.

22. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι, ἔφη, ἀριστάτε ἰόντες· ὑμεῖς δέ, ὡς Καδούσιοι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελθόντες ἄρχοντα ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεσθε γῆπερ ὑμῖν νόμος, δοστις ὑμῶν ἐπιμελήσεται σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ σὺν

tachment than that with which the Cadusian prince went. But if an officer, when he starts on an expedition, communicates his intention to one that is able to bring help, he may possibly fall into a trap, but then it is equally possible for the one who remains behind to entrap the enemy and turn them away from the detached corps; or he may annoy the enemy in some other way and so secure safety for his friends; and thus even those who are at a distance will not be out of reach but will keep in touch with the main body. But the man who goes off without communicating his purpose is in the same situation, no matter where he is, as if he were carrying on a campaign alone.

21. "But in return for this, we shall ere long, God willing, have our revenge on the enemy. So, as soon as you have had luncheon, I shall lead you to the place where this befell. There we shall not only bury the dead, but, God willing, on the very spot where the enemy think they have won a victory we will show them others better than they are. We shall at least let them have no satisfaction in looking even on the place where they slaughtered our allies. If they do not come out to meet us, we shall burn their villages and ravage their country, so that they may have no joy in viewing what they did to us but may be distressed at contemplating there their own misfortunes.

22. "The rest of you, therefore, go to luncheon. But you, Cadusians, go first and elect from your own number according to your custom a new general, who shall look out for your interests with the help of the gods and of us, if you have any need of our help

ἡμῖν, ἥν τι προσδέησθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἔλησθε [καὶ ἀριστήσῃτε],¹ πέμψατε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν αἴρεθέντα.

23. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἔπραξαν· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπεὶ ἔξήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα, κατέστησεν εἰς τάξιν τὸν ἡρημένον ὑπὸ τῶν Καδουσίων καὶ ἐκέλευσε πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἄγειν τὴν τάξιν,² Οπως, ἔφη, ἀν δυνώμεθα, ἀναθαρρύνωμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὕτω δὴ ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ἐλθόντες ἔθαπτον μὲν τοὺς Καδουσίους, ἐδήσουν δὲ τὴν χώραν. ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἀπῆλθον τάπιτήδεια ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ἔχοντες πάλιν εἰς τὴν Γαδάτου.

24. Ἐννοήσας δὲ ὅτι οἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφεστηκότες ὅντες πλησίον Βαβυλῶνος κακῶς πείσονται, ἥν μὴ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ παρῇ, οὕτως ὅσους τε τῶν πολεμίων ἀφίει, τούτους ἐκέλευε λέγειν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς κήρυκα ἔπειμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτα² λέγοντα, ὅτι ἔτοιμος ἐίη τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν γῆν ἐᾶν καὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος βούλοιτο ἐᾶν ἐργάζεσθαι τοὺς τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀφεστηκότων ἐργάτας. 25. Καίτοι, ἔφη, σὺ μὲν ἦν καὶ δύνῃ κωλύειν, ὀλίγους τινὰς κωλύσεις· ὀλίγη γάρ ἐστι χώρα ἡ τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀφεστηκότων· ἐγὼ δὲ πολλὴν ἄν σοι χώραν ἐώην ἐνεργὸν εἶναι. εἰς δὲ τὴν τοῦ καρποῦ κομιδὴν, ἐᾶν μὲν πόλεμος ἦ, ὁ ἐπικρατῶν οἷμαι καρπώσεται· ἐᾶν δὲ εἰρήνη, δῆλον, ἔφη, ὅτι σύ. ἐᾶν μέντοι τις ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν ὅπλα ἀνταίρηται σοὶ ἡ τῶν σῶν ἐμοί, τούτους, ἔφη, ὡς ἀν δυνώμεθα ἐκάτεροι ἀμυνούμεθα.

¹ καὶ ἀριστήσῃτε MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Gemoll; καὶ ἀριστήσατε after αἴρεθέντα Marchant.

² ταῦτα Dindorf, Edd.; ταῦτα MSS.

as well; and when you have made your choice, send the man you have elected to me."

23. So they did as he bade. And when Cyrus led the army out, he assigned the man elected by the Cadusians his position and bade him lead his contingent near to himself, "in order," he said, "that we may, if we can, put new courage into your men." Thus, then, they proceeded; and when they came to the place, they buried the Cadusians and ravaged the country. And when they had done so they returned again into the land of Gadatas, bringing their supplies from the enemy's country.

24. And when he reflected that those who had gone over to him would suffer severely, as they were in the vicinity of Babylon, if he were not always at hand, he ordered those of the enemy whom he released to tell the Assyrian king (he also sent a herald to bear the same message) that he was ready to leave in peace the labourers tilling the land and to do them no harm, provided the king, on his part, would be willing to allow those farmers who had transferred their allegiance to him to work their farms. 25. "And yet," he had them say, "even if you are able to hinder them, you will hinder but few; for the country of those who have come over to me is small; while the land under your dominion that I should allow to be cultivated is extensive. Then, as to the harvesting of the crops, if there is war, the victor, I suppose, will do the reaping; but if there is peace, it is evident that you will do it. If, however, any of my adherents take up arms against you, or any of yours against me, upon such we will both execute vengeance according to our ability."

Cyrus pro-
poses
natural pro-
tection of
the farms

XENOPHON

26. Ταῦτα ἐπιστεῖλας τῷ κήρυκι ἔπειμψεν αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι ὡς ἥκουσαν ταῦτα, πάντα ἐποίουν πείθοντες τὸν βασιλέα συγχωρῆσαι ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι μικρότατον τοῦ πολέμου λιπεῖν. 27. καὶ ὁ Ἀσσύριος μέντοι εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄμοφύλων πεισθεὶς εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω βουληθεὶς συνήνεσε ταῦτα· καὶ ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι τοῖς μὲν ἔργαζομένοις εἰρήνην εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ ὀπλοφόροις πόλεμον.

28. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ διεπέπρακτο περὶ τῶν ἔργατῶν ὁ Κῦρος· τὰς μέντοι νομὰς τῶν κτηνῶν τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐκέλευσε καταθέσθαι, εἰ βούλουντο, ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐπικρατείᾳ· τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων λείαν ἥγον ὄπόθεν δύναιντο, ὅπως εἴη ἡ στρατεία ἡδίων τοῖς συμμάχοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κίνδυνοι οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ λαμβάνειν τάπιτηδεια, η δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων τροφὴ κουφοτέραν τὴν στρατείαν ἔδόκει παρέχειν.

29. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκευάζετο ἡδη ὁ Κῦρος ὡς ἀπιών, παρῆν ὁ Γαδάτας ἄλλα τε δῶρα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα φέρων καὶ ἄγων ὡς ἀν ἔξ οἴκου μεγάλου, καὶ ἵππους δὲ ἥργε πολλοὺς ἀφελόμενοτῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἵππεων οἷς ἡπιστήκει διὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. 30. ὡς δὲ ἐπλησίασεν, ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ὡ Κῦρε, νῦν μέν σοι ἐγὼ ταῦτα δίδωμι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καὶ χρῶ αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν δέη τι· νόμιζε δὲ, ἔφη, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τάμα σὰ εἶναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἔστιν οὕτ' ἔσται ποτὲ ὅτῳ ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ φύντι καταλείψω τὸν ἐμὸν οἴκον· ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, ἔφη, σὺν ἐμοὶ τελευτῶντι πᾶν ἀποσβῆναι τὸ

26. This message he entrusted to the herald and sent him away. And when the Assyrians heard it, they did everything they could to persuade the king to accept the proposal, and to leave as little of the war as possible. 27. The Assyrian king, moreover, whether because he was persuaded by his countrymen or whether he himself also wished it so, agreed to the proposal; so a covenant was made to the effect that the farmers should have peace, but the men under arms war.

28. This concession Cyrus obtained for the farming classes. But as for the herds out grazing, he ordered his friends, if they wished, to drive them in and keep them in the territory under their own control; but the enemy's cattle they brought in as their legitimate prey from whatever quarter they could, so that the allies might be better pleased with the expedition. For the dangers were the same, even if they did not go foraging for provisions, while the burdens of war seemed lighter, if the army was to be fed at the enemy's cost.

29. When Cyrus was making preparations to depart, Gadatas came to him and brought many gifts of every sort, as might be expected from a wealthy house, and, most important of all, he brought many horses that he had taken from horsemen of his own whom he had come to distrust on account of the conspiracy against him. 30. When he came into Cyrus's presence he spoke as follows: "These gifts, Cyrus, I beg to offer you for the present; and do you accept them, if you have any use for them. But pray consider that everything else of mine is yours; for there is not and never can be a child of my own to whom I can leave my estates, but with my

Gadatas
brings gifts
to Cyrus

XENOPHON

ἡμέτερον γένος καὶ δυνομα. 31. καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, δύμνυμί σοι θεούς, οὐ καὶ ὄρωσι πάντα καὶ ἀκούουσι πάντα, οὔτε ἄδικον οὕτ' αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν οὕτ' εἰπὼν οὔτε ποιήσας ἔπαθον.

Καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων κατεδάκρυσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην καὶ οὐκέτι ἐδυνήθη πλείω εἰπεῖν.

32. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀκούσας τοῦ μὲν πάθους φύκτειρεν αὐτόν, ἔλεξε δὲ ὡδε· Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν Ἰπποὺς δέχομαι, ἔφη· σέ τε γάρ ὡφελήσω εὐνουστέροις δοὺς αὐτοὺς ἢ οὐ νῦν σοι εἶχον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐγώ τε οὐ δὴ πάλαι ἐπιθυμῶ, τὸ Πέρσῶν ἵππικὸν θᾶττον ἐκπληρώσω εἰς τοὺς μυρίους ἵππέας· τὰ δ' ἄλλα χρῆματα σὺ ἀπαγαγὼν φύλαττε, ἔστ' ἀν ἐμὲ ἵδης¹ ἔχοντα ὥστε σοῦ μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι ἀντιδωρούμενον· εἰ δὲ πλείω μοι δοὺς ἀπίοις ἢ λαμβάνοις παρ' ἐμοῦ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ οἴδ' ὅπως ἀν δυναίμην μὴ αἰσχύνεσθαι.

33. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γαδάτας εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ἔφη, πιστεύω σοι· ὅρῳ γάρ σου τὸν τρόπον φυλάττειν μέντοι ὅρα εἰ ἐπιτήδειός είμι. 34. ἔως μὲν γάρ φίλοι ἡμεν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ, καλλίστῃ ἐδόκει εἶναι ἡ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς κτῆσις· τῆς γάρ μεγίστης πόλεως Βαβυλῶνος ἐγγὺς οὖσα ὅσα μὲν ὡφελεῖσθαι ἔστιν ἀπὸ μεγάλης πόλεως, ταῦτα ἀπελαύομεν, ὅσα δὲ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, οἴκαδε δεῦρ' ἀπιόντες τούτων ἐκποδῶν ἡμεν· νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔχθροί ἔσμεν, δῆλον ὅτι ἐπειδὰν σὺ ἀπέλθης, καὶ αὐτὸι ἐπιβούλευσόμεθα καὶ ὁ οἰκος ὅλος, καὶ οἷμαι λυπηρῶς βιωσόμεθα ὅλως τοὺς ἔχθρούς

¹ ἵδης γ, Edd. ; εἰδῆς καὶ (ληιοις).

death our race and name must be altogether blotted out. 31. And by the gods, who see all things and hear all things, I swear to you, Cyrus, that it is not for anything wrong or base that I have said or done that I have suffered this affliction."

As he uttered these words he burst into tears over his lot and could say no more.

32. And Cyrus, as he listened, pitied him for his misfortune and answered him thus: "Your horses I accept; for I shall do you a service by giving them to men who are more loyal to you, it seems, than your own men who had them but now; and for myself, I shall the sooner increase my Persian cavalry to full ten thousand horse, as I have been eager this long time to do. But do you take these other things away and keep them until you see me in possession of wealth enough so that I shall not be outdone in requiting you. For if, as we part, you should give me larger gifts than you receive from me, by the gods, I do not see how I could possibly help being ashamed."

33. "Well," said Gadatas in reply, "I can trust you for that; for I know your ways. Still, bethink you whether I am in a position to keep these things safe for you. 34. For while we were friends to the Assyrian king, my father's estate seemed to me the finest in the world; for it was so near to the mighty city of Babylon that we enjoyed all the advantages of a great city but could come back home and be rid of all its rush and worry. But now that we are his enemies, it is obvious that with your departure we ourselves and our whole house shall be the victims of plots; and I think we shall lead an utterly miserable life, for we shall have our

Gadatas's
relations
with the
Assyrian
king

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καὶ πλησίον ἔχοντες καὶ κρείττους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὁρῶντες.

35. Τάχ' οὖν εἴποι τις ἄν. Καὶ τί δῆτα οὐχ οὕτως ἐνενοοῦ πρὶν ἀποστῆναι; δτι, ὁ Κῦρος, ἡ ψυχὴ μου διὰ τὸ ὑβρίσθαι καὶ ὀργίζεσθαι οὐ τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον σκοποῦσα διῆγεν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τοῦτο κνοῦσα, ἀρά ποτε ἔσται ἀποτίσασθαι τὸν καὶ θεοῖς ἔχθρὸν καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ὃς διατελεῖ μισῶν, οὐκ ἦν τίς τι αὐτὸν ἀδικῆ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τινα ὑποπτεύσῃ βελτίονα ἔαυτοῦ εἶναι. 36. τουγαροῦν οἷμαι αὐτὸς πονηρὸς ὃν πᾶσι πονηροτέροις ἔαυτοῦ συμμάχοις χρήσεται. ἐάν δέ τις ἄρα καὶ βελτίων αὐτοῦ φανῆ, θάρρει, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρος, οὐδέν σε δεήσει τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῦνος τούτῳ ἀρκέσει μηχανώμενος, ἕως ἂν ἔλῃ τὸν ἔαυτοῦ βελτίονα. τοῦ μέντοι ἐμὲ ἀνιᾶν καὶ σὺν πονηροῖς ῥᾳδίως οἷμαι κρείττων ἔσται.

37. Ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα τῷ Κύρῳ ἔδοξεν ἄξια ἐπιμελείας λέγειν· καὶ εὐθὺς εἶπε, Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ὁ Γαδάτα, οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν τείχη φυλακῆς ἔχυρὰ ἐποιήσαμεν, ὅπως ἂν σοι σᾶς ἡ χρῆσθαι ἀσφαλῶς, ὅπόταν εἰς αὐτὰ ἵησ· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν ἡμῖν στρατεύει, ἵνα ἦν οἱ θεοὶ ὡσπερ νῦν σὺν ἡμῖν ὥστι, οὗτος σὲ φοβήται, ἀλλὰ μὴ σὺ τοῦτον; ὁ τι δὲ ἥδυ σοι ὄραν τῶν σῶν ἡ ὅτῳ συνὼν χαίρεις, ἔχων σὺν σαυτῷ¹ πορεύου. καὶ σύ τ' ἂν ἐμοί, ὡς

¹ σαυτῷ Hertlein, most Edd.; ἔαυτῳ MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe.

enemies close at hand and see them stronger than ourselves.

35. "Perhaps, then, some one might say: 'And why, pray, did you not think of that before you revolted?' Because, Cyrus, on account of the outrage I had suffered and my consequent resentment, my soul was not looking out consistently for the safest course but was pregnant with this thought, whether it would ever be in my power to get revenge upon that enemy of gods and men, who cherishes an implacable hatred not so much toward the man who does him wrong as toward the one whom he suspects of being better than himself.

36. Therefore, since he is such a scoundrel himself, he will find no supporters but those who are worse scoundrels than himself. But if some one of them by any chance be found better than he, never fear, Cyrus, that you will have to fight that good man; but he will take care of him, scheming unceasingly until he has got rid of that man who is better than himself. But as for me, he will, I think, even with worthless fellows easily be strong enough to harass me.

37. As Cyrus heard this, it seemed to him that Gadatas said something worthy of consideration; so he answered at once: "Pray then, Gadatas," said he, "let us make the fortifications strong with garrisons and safe, that you may have confidence in their security, whenever you go into them; and then do you take the field with us yourself so that, if the gods continue on our side as they now are, he may be afraid of you, not you of him. And bring with you whatsoever of yours you like to look at or to have with you, and come. It seems to me, too, that

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γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνυ χρήσιμος εἶης, ἐγώ τε σοὶ
ὅσα ἀν δύνωμαι πειράσομαι.

38. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Γαδάτας ἀνέπνευσέ τε
καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐρ' οὖν, ἔφη, δυναίμην ἀν συσκευασά-
μενος φθάσαι πρὸν σε ἐξιέναι; βούλομαι γάρ τοι,
ἔφη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἄγειν μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ.

Ναὶ μὰ Δὲ, ἔφη, φθάσεις¹ μέντοι. ἐγὼ γάρ
ἐπισχήσω ἔως ἀν φῆς καλῶς ἔχειν.

39. Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γαδάτας ἀπελθὼν φύλαξι
μὲν τὰ τείχη σὺν Κύρῳ ὡχυρώσατο, συνεσκευά-
σατο δὲ πάντα ὄπόσοις ἀν οἰκος μέγας καλῶς
οἰκοῦτο. ἦγετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν τε πιστῶν
οἵς ἦδετο καὶ ὅν ἡπίστει πολλούς, ἀναγκάσας
τοὺς μὲν καὶ γυναικας ἄγειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀδελ-
φούς, ὡς δεδεμένους τούτοις κατέχοι αὐτούς.

40. Καὶ τὸν μὲν Γαδάταν εὐθὺς ὁ Κῦρος ἐν
τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἦει ἔχων καὶ ὄδῶν φραστῆρα
καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ χιλοῦ καὶ σίτου, ὡς εἴη ἐν [τοῖς]²
ἀφθονωτάτοις στρατοπεδεύεσθαι.

41. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος καθεώρα τὴν τῶν
Βαβυλωνίων πόλιν καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἡ ὄδὸς ἦν
ἥει παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος φέρειν, καλέσας τὸν
Γωβρύαν καὶ τὸν Γαδάταν ἤρωτα εἰς εἴη ἄλλη
όδος, ὥστε μὴ πάνυ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἄγειν.

42. Καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν, Εἰσὶ μέν, ὡς δέσποτα,
καὶ πολλαὶ ὄδοι· ἀλλ' ἔγωγ', ἔφη, φύμην καὶ
βούλεσθαι ἀν σε νῦν ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω τῆς πόλεως
ἄγειν, ἵνα καὶ ἐπιδείξαις αὐτῷ ὅτι τὸ στράτευμά
σου ἦδη πολύ τέ ἐστι καὶ καλόν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὅτε

¹ φθάσεις MSS., most Edd.; φθήσει Hertlein, Hug.
² τοῖς MSS.; [τοῖς] Dindorf⁴, later Edd.

you would be very useful to me, and I shall try to be the same to you, as far as I can."

38. On hearing this, Gadatas breathed more freely Gadatas makes common cause with Cyrus and said : " Could I get things ready before you go ? For, you see, I should like to take my mother with me."

" Yes, by Zeus," he answered, " you will have plenty of time ; for I will hold back until you say it is all right."

39. Accordingly, Gadatas went away in company with Cyrus and strengthened the forts with garrisons and then packed up everything that a great house might need for comfort. And he brought with him many of his own loved and trusted friends and many also of those whom he distrusted, compelling some to bring along their wives, others their brothers and sisters, in order that he might keep them under control, when bound by such ties.

40. And from the first Cyrus kept Gadatas among those about him as he marched, to give him information in regard to roads and water, fodder and provisions, so that they might be able to camp where things were most abundant.

41. And when, as he proceeded, he came in sight of the city of Babylon and it seemed to him that the road which he was following led close by the walls, he called Gobryas and Gadatas to him and asked if there were not another road, so that they need not march right by the wall.

42. " Yes, sire," answered Gobryas ; " in fact, there are many roads ; but I supposed that you would surely wish to march as near to the city as possible, in order to show him that your army is now large and imposing ; for even when you had a smaller

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έλαττον είχεις προσῆλθές τε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ἐθεάτο ήμᾶς οὐ πολλοὺς δύντας· νί γέ τε εἰ καὶ παρεσκευασμένος τὸ ἔστιν, ὥσπερ πρὸς σὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παρεσκευάζοιτο ὡς μαχούμεις σοι, οἴδε ὅτι ίδόντι αὐτῷ τὴν σὴν δύναμιν πάλιν ἀπαρεσκευότατα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ φανεῖται.

43. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε, Δοι οὖ μοι, ὁ Γωβρύα, θαυμάζειν ὅτι ἐν φύσει μὲν χρόνῳ πολὺ μείονα ἔχων στρατιὰν ἥλθον, πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τεῖχος προσῆγον· νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ πλείονα δύναμιν ἔχει, οὐκ ἐθέλω ὑπὸ αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἄγειν. 44. ἀλλὰ ηθελει τὴν θαύμαζε· οὐ γάρ τὸ αὐτόν ἐστι προσάγειν τε καὶ παράγειν. προσάγουσι μὲν γάρ πάντες οὗτοι ταξάμενοι ὡς ἀνὰ ἄριστοι εἰεν μάχεσθαι [καὶ ἀπάγουσι δὲ οἱ σώφρονες ὃς ἀνὰ ἀσφαλέστερα, οὐχ ἃς ἀνὰ τάχιστα ἀπέλθοιεν].¹ 45. παριέναι δὲ ινάγκη ἐστὶν ἐκτεταμέναις μὲν ταῖς ἀμάξαις, ἀνειλένοις² δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σκευοφόροις ἐπὶ πολὺ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα δεῖ προκεκαλύφθαι τοῖς ὄπλοφί οις καὶ μηδαμῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις γυμνὰ ὅπλων τὰ σκυφόρα φαίνεσθαι. 46. ινάγκη οὖν οὗτοι πόρευομενοὶ ἐπὶ λεπτὸν καὶ ἀσθενὲς τὸ μάχιμον τετάχθαι· εἰ οὖν βούλοιντο ἀθρόοι ἐκ τοῦ τείχους προσπειθεῖν πῃ, ὅπῃ προσμίξειαν, πολὺ ἀνέρρωμενέστεροι³ συμμηνύοιεν τῶν παριόντων. 47. καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἐπὶ μακρὸν πορευομένοις μακραὶ καὶ αἱ ἐπιβήθειαι,

¹ καὶ . . . ἀπέλθοιεν MSS., most Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant.

² ἀνειρμένοις Dindorf, recent Edd.; ἀνειργμένοις Suidas, Sauppe; ἀνειργομένοις yzE².

³ ἐρρωμενέστεροι Hertlein, recent Edd.; ἐρρωμενέστεροι ερογ χυ, Dindorf, Breitenbach; ἐρρωμενέστερων ς.

force, you came right up to the very walls and he saw that we had no great numbers. So now, even if he really is to some extent prepared (for he sent word to you that he was making preparations to fight you), I am sure that, when he sees your forces, his own will again seem to him extremely ill-prepared."

43. "You seem to be surprised, Gobryas," said Cyrus in answer, "that I marched right up to the walls when I came with a much smaller army, whereas now with a larger force I am unwilling to march close up under the walls. 44. But do not be surprised; for marching up to and marching by are not the same thing. For every one leads up in the order best for fighting [and the wise also retreat in the safest possible way, and not in the quickest], 45. but an army must needs march by with the wagons in an extended line and with the rest of the baggage vans in a long train. And these must all be covered by soldiers, and the enemy must never see the baggage wagons unprotected by arms. 46. When people march in this way, therefore, they necessarily have the fighting men drawn out in a thin, weak line. If, then, the enemy should ever decide to sally out in a compact body from their walls, on whichever part they came to close quarters they would close with much greater force than those have who are marching by. 47. Then, too, those who are marching in a long column must be a long distance from their supports, while the

Cyrus's
tactics in
passing
Babylon

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τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ τεύχους βραχὺ πρὸς τὸ ἐγγὺς καὶ προσδραμένην καὶ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν.

48. Ἡν δὲ μὴ μεῖον ἀπέχοντες παρίωμεν ἢ ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ νῦν ἐκτεταμένοι πορευόμεθα, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος κατόψουται ήμῶν· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν παρυφασμένων ὅπλων πᾶς ὄχλος δεινὸς φαίνεται.

49. Ἡν δ' οὖν τῷ ὅντι ἐπεξίωσί πῃ, ἐκ πολλοῦ προορῶντες αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀν ἀπαράσκευοι λαμβανούμεθα. μᾶλλον δέ, ω ἄνδρες, ἔφη, οὐδὲ ἐπιχειρήσουσιν, ὅπόταν πρόσω δέῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους ἀπιέναι, Ἡν μὴ τῷ δλῳ ὑπολάβωσι τοῦ παντὸς κρείττους εἶναι φοβερὰ γάρ η ἀποχώρησις.

50. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπεν, ἔδοξέ τε ὁρθῶς τοῖς παροῦσι λέγειν καὶ ἦγεν ὁ Γωβρύας ὥσπερ ἐκέλευσε. παραμειβομένου δὲ τὴν πόλιν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀεὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἵσχυρότερον ποιούμενος ἀπεχώρει.

51. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος οὗτος ἐν ταῖς γυγνομέναις ἡμέραις ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὰ μεθόρια τῶν Σύρων καὶ Μήδων, ἔνθενπερ ὕρμητο,¹ ἐνταῦθα δὴ τρία ὅντα τῶν Σύρων φρούρια, ἐν μὲν αὐτὸς τὸ ἀσθενέστατον βίᾳ προσβαλὼν ἔλαβε, τῷ δὲ δύο φρουρίω φοβῶν μὲν Κῦρος, πείθων δὲ Γαδάτας ἔπεισε παραδοῦναι τοὺς φυλάττοντας.

¹ ὕρμητο Hertlein, Edd.; ὕρματο MSS.

townspeople have but a short way to go to make a dash on a force near them and again retire.

48. "On the other hand, if we march by at a distance from the walls not less than that at which we are now proceeding with our long extended line, they will have a view of our full numbers, to be sure, but behind the fringe of arms the whole host will look terrible. 49. Be that as it may, if they should really make a sally at any point, we should see them a long way off and not be caught unprepared; or rather, I should say, friends, they will not so much as make the attempt when they have to go far from their walls, unless they judge that the whole of their force is superior to the whole of ours; for a retreat is a perilous thing for them."

50. When he said this, those present agreed that what he said was right, and Gobryas led the way as he had directed. And as the army marched by the city, he constantly kept the part just passing the city the strongest, and so moved on.

51. Thus he continued his march and came in the usual number of days to the place on the boundaries between Media and Syria from which he had originally started. Of the three forts of the Syrians there, Cyrus in person assaulted one, the weakest, and took it by storm; of the other two, Cyrus, by intimidation, brought the garrison of the one to surrender, and Gadatas, by persuasion, that of the other.

Cyrus captures three forts

V

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διεπέπρακτο, πέμπει πρὸς Κυαξάρην καὶ ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ ἡκειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅπως περὶ τῶν φρουρίων ὡν εἰλήφεσαν βουλεύσαιντο ὃ τι χρήσαιντο, καὶ ὅπως θεασάμενος τὸ στράτευμα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σύμβουλος γύγνοιτο ὃ τι δοκοίη ἐκ τούτου πράττειν. Ἐὰν δὲ κελεύῃ, εἰπέ, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀν ὡς ἑκεῖνον ἰοίην συστρατοπεδευσόμενος.

2. Ο μὲν δὴ ἄγγελος φέχετο ταῦτ' ἀπαγγελῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευσε τὴν τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου σκηνήν, ἦν Κυαξάρη οἱ Μῆδοι ἔξειλον, ταύτην κατασκευάσαι ὡς βέλτιστα τῇ τε ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἦν εἰχον καὶ τῷ γυναικα εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν γυναικῶνα τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ σὺν ταύτῃ τὰς μουσουργούς, αὖπερ ἔξηρημέναι ἦσαν Κυαξάρη. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπραττον.

3. Ο δὲ πεμφθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἐπεὶ ἔλεξε τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἔγνω βέλτιον εἶναι τὸ στράτευμα μένειν ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι οὓς μετεπέμψατο ὁ Κῦρος ἦκον ἦσαν δὲ μυριάδες τέτταρες τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. 4. ὄρῶν οὖν καὶ τούτους σινομένους πολλὰ τὴν Μηδικήν, τούτων ἀν ἔδόκει ἦδιον ἀπαλλαγῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄλλον δχλον εἰσδέξασθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Περσῶν ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ἐρόμενος τὸν Κυαξάρην κατὰ τὴν Κύρου ἐπιστολὴν εἴ τι δέοιτο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔφη δεῖσθαι, αὐθημε-

V

1. WHEN this had been accomplished, he sent to Cyrus Cyaxares and requested him to come to camp to hold a council of war concerning the disposition to be made of the forts which they had captured, and, after reviewing the army, to advise what steps he thought they ought to take next for the future conduct of the war. "But if he bids me," said he, "tell him that I would come and join camps with him."

2. Accordingly, the messenger went away to deliver this message. Meanwhile Cyrus had given orders to bring out the tent of the Assyrian king which the Medes had selected for Cyaxares, to make it ready with all kinds of furnishings, and to conduct into the women's apartments of the tent the woman and with her the music-girls, who had been selected for Cyaxares. And this was done.

3. When the envoy to Cyaxares had delivered his message, Cyaxares gave it his attention and decided that it was better for the army to stay at the frontier. And there was the more reason, for the Persians whom Cyrus had sent for had come—forty thousand bowmen and peltasts. 4. And as he saw that these were a severe drain on the Median land, it seemed to him more desirable to get rid of the present army than to admit another host. So when the officer in command of the reinforcements from Persia inquired of Cyaxares, in accordance with the instructions he had had from Cyrus, whether he had any need of his army, he said "No"; and so this general went that same day at the head of his forces

Reinforce-
ments
arrive from
Persia

IV. v. 31

ρόν, ἐπεὶ ἥκουσε παρόντα Κῦρον, φέχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα.

5. Ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ἐπορεύετο τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ σὺν τοῖς παραμείνασιν ἵππεῦσι Μῆδων· ὡς δ' ἥσθετο ὁ Κῦρος προσιόντα αὐτὸν, λαβὼν τούς τε τῶν Περσῶν ἵππέας, πολλοὺς ἥδη δυτας, καὶ τοὺς Μήδους πάντας¹ καὶ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους καὶ τοὺς Τρκανίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοὺς εὐεπ-ποτάτους τε καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους ἀπῆντα, ἐπιδεικνὺς τῷ Κυαξάρῃ τὴν δύναμιν. 6. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ἐπεὶ εἶδε σὺν μὲν τῷ Κύρῳ πολλούς τε καὶ καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς ἐπομένους, σὺν ἑαυτῷ δὲ ὀλίγην τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίαν θεραπείαν, ἀτιμόν τι αὐτῷ ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄχος αὐτὸν ἔλαβεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὁ Κῦρος προσῆλθεν ὡς φιλήσων αὐτὸν κατὰ νόμουν, ὁ Κυαξάρης κατέβη μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ἀπεστράφη δέ· καὶ ἐφίλησε μὲν οὗ, δακρύων δὲ φανερὸς ἦν.

7. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἀποστάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπαύεσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ Κυαξάρου καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔξω ὑπὸ φοίνικάς τινας, τῶν τε Μηδικῶν πίλων ὑποβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ καθίσας αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαθισάμενος εἰπεν ὡδε·

8. Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ θεῖε, τί μοι ὅργίζει καὶ τί χαλεπὸν ὄρῶν οὕτω χαλεπῶς φέρεις;

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἀπεκρίνατο, "Οτι, ὁ Κῦρε, δοκῶν γε δὴ ἐφ' ὅσον ἀνθρώπων μηδίμη

¹ πάντας γ, Edd.; παρόντας xx, Zonaras (*Iliose who were with him*).

to Cyrus, for he heard that Cyrus was in that neighbourhood.

5. On the following day Cyaxares set out with the Median cavalry who had stayed with him, and when Cyrus learned that he was approaching, he went out to meet him with the Persian cavalry, which was now a large body; he took with him also all the Median, Armenian, and Hyrcanian horse, and those of the rest of the allies who were the best mounted and best armed; all these he took with him by way of displaying his forces to Cyaxares. 6. But when Cyaxares saw many fine, valiant men in the company of Cyrus, while his own escort was small and of little worth, he thought it a thing dishonourable, and grief gat hold on him. So when Cyrus dismounted from his horse and came up to him, intending to kiss him according to custom, Cyaxares dismounted from his horse but turned away. He refused to kiss him and could not conceal his tears.

7. Thereupon Cyrus bade all the rest withdraw and wait. And he himself caught Cyaxares by the hand, led him to the shade of some palm-trees away from the road, ordered some Median rugs to be spread for him, and begged him to be seated; then sitting down beside him, he spoke as follows:

8. "In the name of all the gods, uncle," said he, "tell me why you are angry with me; and what do you find wrong that you take it so amiss?"

"Because, Cyrus," Cyaxares then made answer, "while I am supposed to be the scion of a royal

έφικνεῖται καὶ τῶν πάλαι προγόνων καὶ πατρὸς
βασιλέως πεφυκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς νομιζό-
μενος εἶναι, ἐμαυτὸν μὲν ὄρῳ οὕτῳ ταπεινῶς καὶ
ἀναξίως ἐλαύνοντα, σὲ δὲ τῇ ἐμῇ θεραπείᾳ καὶ τῇ
ἄλλῃ δυνάμει μέγαν τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ παρόντα.
9. καὶ ταῦτα χαλεπὸν μὲν οἴμαι καὶ ὑπὸ πολέμων
παθεῖν, πολὺ δ', ὡς Ζεῦ, χαλεπώτερον ὑφ' ὧν
ἥκιστα ἔχρην ταῦτα πεπονθέναι. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
δοκῶ δεκάκις ἀν κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδῦναι ἥδιον ἦ
ὁ φθῆναι οὕτῳ ταπεινὸς καὶ ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐμοῦ
ἀμελήσαντας καὶ ἐπεγγελῶντας ἐμοὶ. οὐ γὰρ
ἀγνοῶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, δότι οὐ σύ μου μόνον μείζων εἰ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ δοῦλοι ἴσχυρότεροι ἐμοῦ ὑπαντι-
άζουσί μοι καὶ κατεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶν ὥστε
δύνασθαι ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐμὲ κακῶς ἢ παθεῖν ὑπ'
ἐμοῦ.

10. Καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἐκρατεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Κῦρον
ἐπεσπάσατο ἐμπλησθῆναι δακρύων τὰ δύματα.
ἐπισχὼν δὲ μικρὸν ἔλεξε τοιάδε ὁ Κῦρος.

'Αλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὡς Κυαξάρη, οὔτε λέγεις
ἀληθῆ οὔτε ὄρθως γιγνώσκεις, εἰ οἵει τῇ ἐμῇ
παρουσίᾳ Μήδους κατεσκευάσθαι ὥστε ἵκανον
εἶναι σὲ κακῶς ποιεῖν. 11. τὸ μέντοι σε θυμοῦ-
σθαι καὶ φοβεῖν¹ αὐτοὺς οὐ² θαυμάζω εἰ μέντοι
γε δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς χαλεπαίνεις, παρήσω
τοῦτο· οἶδα γὰρ δότι βαρέως ἀν φέροις ἀκούων
ἐμοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὸ μέντοι ἄνδρα
ἄρχοντα πᾶσιν ἅμα χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις,
τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μέγα ἀμάρτημα εἶναι. ἀνάγκη

¹ φοβεῖν Hug; φοβεῖσθαι x, other Edd.; not in z.

² οὐ MSS.; omitted by Pantazides, Hug.

father and of a line of ancestors who were kings of old as far back as the memory of man extends, and while I am called a king myself, still I see myself riding along with a mean and unworthy equipage, while you come before me great and magnificent in the eyes of my own retinue as well as the rest of your forces. 9. And this I think it a hard thing to suffer even at the enemy's hands and much harder, O Zeus, at the hands of those from whom I should least of all expect such treatment. For I think I should rather ten times sink into the earth than be seen so humiliated and see my own men disregarding me and laughing at me; for I am not ignorant of the fact not only that you are greater than I, but also that even my vassals come to meet me more powerful than I am myself and well enough equipped to do more harm to me than I can do to them."

10. And as he said this he was still more violently overcome with weeping, so that he affected Cyrus, too, till his eyes filled with tears. But after pausing for a moment Cyrus answered him as follows:

"Well, Cyaxares, in this you do not speak truly nor do you judge correctly, if you think that by my presence the Medes have been put in a position to do you harm; 11. but that you are angered and threaten them gives me no surprise. However, whether your anger against them is just or unjust, I will not stop to inquire; for I know that you would be offended to hear me speak in their defence. To me, however, it seems a serious error for a ruler to be angry with all his subjects at the same time; for, as

γάρ διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν φοβεῖν πολλοὺς ἔχθροὺς ποιεῖσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὸ πᾶσιν ἄμα χαλεπαίνειν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμόνοιαν ἐμβάλλειν. 12. ὃν ἔνεκα, εὖ ἵσθι, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ἄνευ ἐμαυτοῦ τούτους, φοβούμενος μή τι γένοιτο διὰ τὴν σὴν ὀργὴν ὅ τι πάντας ἡμᾶς λυπήσοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐμοῦ παρόντος ἀσφαλῶς ἔχει σοι.

Τὸ μέντοι σε νομίζειν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, τοῦτο ἐγὼ πάνυ χαλεπῶς φέρω, εἰ ἀσκῶν ὅσον δύναμαι τοὺς φίλους ὡς πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν ἔπειτα τάναντία τούτου δοκῶ ἐξεργάζεσθαι.

13. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, μὴ οὕτως εἰκῇ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αἰτιώμεθα· ἀλλ', εἰ δυνατόν, σαφέστατα κατίδωμεν ποῖόν ἐστι τὸ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀδίκημα. καὶ τὴν ἐν φίλοις δικαιοτάτην ὑπόθεσιν ἔχω ὑποτιθέναι· ἐὰν γάρ τι σε φανῶ κακὸν πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ ἀδικεῖν· ἐὰν μέντοι μηδὲν φαίνωμαι κακὸν πεποιηκώς μηδὲν βουληθείς, οὐ καὶ σὺ αὖ ὁμολογήσεις μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι;

14. Ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, ἔφη.

Ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀγαθά σοι πεπραχώς δῆλος ὁ καὶ προθυμούμενος πρᾶξαι ὡς ἐγὼ πλεῖστα ἐδυνάμην, οὐκ ἀν καὶ ἐπαίνου σοι ἄξιος εἰην μᾶλλον ἢ μέμψεως;

Δίκαιον γοῦν, ἔφη.

15. Ἄγε τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, σκοπῶμεν τὰ ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένα πάντα καθ' ἐν ἔκαστον· οὕτω γάρ μάλιστα δῆλον ἐσται ὅ τι τε αὐτῶν ἀγαθόν ἐστι καὶ ὅ τι κακόν. 16. ἀρξώμεθα δ', ἔφη, ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ καὶ σοὶ ἀρκούντως δοκεῖ

a matter of course, threatening many makes many enemies, and being angry with all at the same time inspires them all with a common sense of wrong.

12. It was for this reason, let me assure you, that I did not let them come back without me, for I was afraid that in consequence of your anger something might happen for which we should all be sorry. With the help of the gods, therefore, you are secured against that by my presence.

"As to your supposition that you have been wronged by me—I am exceedingly sorry, if, while I have been striving to the utmost of my ability to do as much good as possible to my friends, I seem after all to be accomplishing just the opposite.

13. "But enough of this; let us not thus idly accuse one another; but, if possible, let us examine what sort of wrong it is that has come from me. I am ready to make you a proposal, the fairest that can be made between friends: if it appear that I have done you harm, I confess that I am in the wrong; but if it turn out that I have done you no harm and intended none, will you then on your part confess that you have suffered no wrong at my hands?"

14. "Nay, I must," said he.

"And if it is demonstrated that I have done you good and have been eager to do as much for you as I could, pray should I not deserve your praise rather than your blame?"

"That is only fair," said he.

15. "Come, then," said Cyrus, "and let us consider all that I have done, all my acts one by one; for so it will be most clearly seen what is good and what is bad. 16. And let us begin, if you think it far enough back, with my assuming this command.

Cyrus reviews his own conduct

XENOPHON

έχειν. σὺ γάρ δήπου ἐπεὶ ἥσθου πολλοὺς πολεμίους ἡθροισμένους, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν χώραν ὄρμωμένους, εὐθὺς ἔπειμπεις πρός τε τὸ Περσῶν κοινὸν συμμάχους αἰτούμενος καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἴδιᾳ δεόμενος πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐμὲ ἐλθεῖν ἥγούμενον, εἴ τινες Περσῶν ἦσσεν. οὐκοῦν¹ ἐγὼ ἐπείσθην τε ταῦτα ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ παρεγενόμην ἄνδρας ἄγων σοι ώς ἣν δυνατὸν πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους;

*Ηλθες γάρ οὖν, ἔφη.

17. Ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν, ἔφη, πρῶτόν μοι εἰπὲ πότερον ἀδικίαν τινά μου πρὸς σὲ κατέγνως ἢ μᾶλλον εὐεργεσίαν;

Δῆλον, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, δότι ἔκ γε τούτων εὐεργεσίαν.

18. Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ² οἱ πολέμοι ηλθον καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ἔδει πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐν τούτῳ κατενόησάς πού με ἡ πόνου ἀποστάντα ἢ τινος κινδύνου φεισάμενον;

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δῖ, ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δή.

19. Τί γάρ, ἐπεὶ τῆς³ νίκης γενομένης σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἡμετέρας καὶ ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν πολεμίων παρεκάλουν ἐγώ σε ὅπως κοινῇ μὲν αὐτοὺς διώκοιμεν, κοινῇ δὲ τιμωρούμεθα, κοινῇ δὲ εἴ τι καλὸν κάγαθὸν συμβαίνοι, τοῦτο καρπούμεθα, ἐν τούτοις ἔχεις τινά μου πλεονεξίαν κατηγορῆσαι;

20. Ο μὲν δὴ Κυαξάρης πρὸς τοῦτο ἐσύγα. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὡδε· Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πρὸς

¹ οὐκοῦν Dindorf, Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant; οὐκοῦν MSS., Gemoll.

² ἐπει Schneider, Edd.; ἐπειδὴ γε G²; εἰπὲ z; εἰπέ μοι x.

³ τῆς Hertlein, Gemoll; not in MSS., most Edd.

Now, you remember, when you learned that the enemy had gathered in great numbers and that they were starting against you and your country, you at once sent to the Persian state to ask for help and to me personally to ask me to try to come myself at the head of the forces, if any of the Persians should come. Did I not comply with your request, and did I not come to you leading for your service as many and as valiant men as I could?"

"Yes," said he; "you certainly came."

17. "Well then," he answered, "tell me first whether in this you impute to me any wrong against you or do you not rather count it a benefit towards you?"

"Obviously," Cyaxares replied, "in that I see a benefit."

18. "Good, then," answered Cyrus; "and when the enemy came and we had to do battle with them, did you then see me ever shirking toil or avoiding danger?"

"No, by Zeus," said he; "I certainly did not."

19. "Furthermore, when with the help of the gods the victory was ours and the enemy retreated, when I urged you to come in order that we might together pursue them, together take vengeance upon them, and together reap the fruits of victory if any rich spoil should fall to our lot—can you charge me with any selfish purpose in that?"

20. To this Cyaxares said nothing. So Cyrus went on again: "Well, seeing that it suits you better

τοῦτο σιωπᾶν ἥδιόν σοι ἡ ἀποκρίνασθαι, τόδε γ', ἔφη, εἰπὲ εἴ τι ἀδικεῖσθαι ἐνόμισας ὅτι ἐπεὶ σοι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι τὸ διώκειν, σὲ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀφῆκα τοῦ κινδύνου τούτου μετέχειν, ἵππέας δὲ τῶν σῶν συμπέμψαι μοι ἐδεόμην σου· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο αἰτῶν ἥδίκουν, ἄλλως τε καὶ προπαρεσχηκὼς ἐμαυτόν σοι σύμμαχον, τοῦτ' αὖ παρὰ σοῦ, ἔφη, ἐπιδεικνύσθω.

21. Ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐσίγα ὁ Κυαξάρης, Ἀλλ' εἰ μηδὲ τοῦτο, ἔφη, βούλει ἀποκρίνασθαι, σὺ δὲ τοὺντεῦθεν λέγε εἴ τι αὖ ἥδικουν ὅτι σοῦ ἀποκριναμένου ἐμοὶ ὡς οὐκ ἀνβούλοιο, εὐθυμουμένους ὄρῶν Μήδους; τούτου¹ παύσας αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζειν κινδυνεύσοντας ἴέναι, εἴ τι αὖ σοι δοκῶ τοῦτο χαλεπὸν ποιῆσαι ὅτι ἀμελήσας τοῦ ὅργίζεσθαι σοι ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ὥτουν σε οὐδὲν οὔτε σοὶ μεῖνον διν δοῦναι οὐδὲν οὔτε ῥάον Μήδοις ἐπιταχθῆναι· τὸν γὰρ βουλόμενον δήπου ἔπεσθαι ἥτησά σε δοῦναι μοι.

22. Οὐκοῦν τούτου τυχῶν παρὰ σοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν, εἰ μὴ τούτους πείσαιμι. ἐλθὼν οὖν ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὓς ἔπεισα τούτους ἔχων ἐπορευόμην σοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αἰτίας ἄξιον νομίζεις, οὐδὲ ὅ τι ἀν διδῷς, ὡς ἔοικε, παρὰ σοῦ δέχεσθαι ἀναίτιόν ἐστιν.

23. Οὐκοῦν ἔξωρμήσαμεν οὕτως· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔξηλθομεν, τί ἡμῖν πεπραγμένον οὐ φανερόν ἐστιν; οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἥλωκε τῶν πολεμών; οὐ τεθνάσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σὲ ἐλθόντων; ἄλλὰ μὴν τῶν γε ξώντων ἔχθρῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ὅπλων

¹ τούτου Stephanus, Edd.; τούτου MSS.

to be silent than to reply to this question, tell me whether you thought you were wronged in any way because, when you did not think it safe to pursue, I excused you from a share in that peril and asked you to let some of your cavalry go with me. For if I did wrong also in asking that, and that, too, when I had previously given you my own services as an ally, that is yours to prove."

He estab-
lishes his
innocence
of wrong

21. And as Cyaxares again said nothing, Cyrus resumed: "Well, seeing that you do not choose to answer that either, please tell me then if I did you wrong in the next step I took: when you answered that you saw that the Medes were enjoying themselves and that you would not be willing to disturb their pleasures and oblige them to go off into dangers, then, far from being angry with you for that, I asked you again for a favour than which, as I knew, nothing was less for you to grant or easier for you to require of the Medes: I asked you, as you will remember, to allow any one who would to follow me. Was there anything unfair, think you, in that?

22. "Well then, when I had obtained this concession from you, it amounted to nothing, unless I were to gain their consent. So I went to see if I could get their consent; and those whom I persuaded I took with me, by your permission, on my expedition. But if you think that deserving of blame, then, no matter what you may offer, one may not, it seems, accept it from you without blame.

23. "Thus, then, we started; and does not every one know what we did when we were gone? Did we not capture the enemy's camp? Are not many of those who came against you slain? Aye, and of the enemy still alive many have been deprived of

έστέρηνται, πολλοὶ δὲ ἵππων χρήματά γε μὴν τὰ τῶν φερόντων καὶ ἀγόντων τὰ σὰ πρόσθεν νῦν ὄρᾶς τοὺς σοὺς φίλους καὶ ἔχοντας καὶ ἄγοντας, τὰ μὲν σού, τὰ δὲ αὖ τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν ἀρχήν. 24. τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον, τὴν μὲν σὴν χώραν αὐξανομένην ὄρᾶς, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων μειουμένην. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων φρούρια ἔχόμενα, τὰ δὲ σὰ τὰ πρότερον εἰς τὴν Σύρων ἐπικράτειαν συγκαταρρυέντα¹ νῦν τάναντία σοὶ προσκεχωρηκότα· τούτων δὲ εἴ τι κακόν σοι ἡ εἴ τι μὴ ἀγαθόν σοι μαθεῖν μὲν ἔγωγε βούλεσθαι οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀνεπιοιμι· ἀκοῦσαι μέντοι γε οὐδὲν κωλύει. ἀλλὰ λέγε ὁ τι γιγνώσκεις περὶ αὐτῶν.

25. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κύρος οὕτως εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο· ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ἔλεξε πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε· Ἀλλ, ὡς Κύρε, ὡς μὲν ταῦτα ἂ σὺ πεποίηκας κακά ἔστιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως χρὴ λέγειν· εὖ γε μέντοι, ἔφη, ἵσθι ὅτι ταῦτα τάγαθὰ τοιαῦτά ἔστιν οἷα δσφ πλείονα φαίνεται, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐμὲ βαρύνει. 26. τὴν τε γὰρ χώραν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ἀν τὴν σὴν ἐβουλόμην τῇ ἐμῇ δυνάμει μείζω ποιεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ὄρᾶν οὕτως αὐξανομένην· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιοῦντι καλά, ἐμοὶ δέ γέ ἔστι πῃ ταῦτὰ² ἀτιμίαν φέροντα. 27. καὶ χρήματα οὕτως ἀν μοι δοκῶ ἥδιόν σοι δωρεῖσθαι ἡ παρὰ σοῦ οὕτω λαμβάνειν ώς σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ δίδωσ· τούτοις γὰρ πλουτιζόμενος ὑπὸ

¹ συγκαταρρυέντα Hug; συγκυροῦντα xF (*haugenīpsi*); συγκασπασθέντα AD, Dindorf, Breitenbach (*demolished*); συγτελοῦντα Herwerden, Marchant, Gemoll (*contributing*).

² ταῦτα Schneider, Edd.; ταῦτα yz; not in x.

their arms ; many others of their horses ; moreover, the belongings of those who before were robbing you and carrying off your property you now see in the hands of your friends and being brought in, some for you, some for those who are under your dominion.

24. But what is most important and best of all, you see your own territory increasing, that of the enemy diminishing ; you see the enemy's fortresses in your possession, and your own, which had before all fallen under the Assyrian's power, now restored again to you. Now, I do not know that I can say that I should like to learn whether any one of these results is a bad thing or whether any one is not a good thing for you, but at any rate I have no objection to listening to what you have to say. So tell me what your judgment on the question is."

25. When he had thus spoken, Cyrus ceased, and Cyaxares subunits his grounds of complaint

Cyaxares answered as follows : " Well, Cyrus, I do not see how any one could say that what you have done is bad ; but still, let me tell you, these services of yours are of such a nature that the more numerous they appear to be, the more they burden me.

26. For as to territory, I should rather extend yours by my power than see mine thus increased by you ; for to you it brings glory to do this, but to me these same things somehow bring disgrace. 27. And as for money, it would be more agreeable for me to bestow it in this way upon you than to receive it from you under such circumstances as those under which you now offer it. For in being thus enriched

σοῦ καὶ μᾶλλον αἰσθάνομαι οἷς πενέστερος γίγνομαι. καὶ τούς γ' ἐμοὺς ὑπηκόους ἵδων μικρά γε ἀδικουμένους ὑπὸ σοῦ ἥττον ἀν δοκῶ λυπεῖσθαι ἡ νῦν ὄρῶν ὅτι μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ σοῦ. 28. εἰ δέ σοι, ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκῶ ἀγνωμόνως ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ αὐτὰ ἀλλ' εἰς σὲ τρέψας πάντα καταθέασαι οἴλα σοι φαίνεται. τί γάρ ἄν, εἴ τις κύνας, οὓς σὺ τρέφεις φυλακῆς ἔνεκα σαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν, τούτους θεραπεύων γυνωριμωτέρους ἑαυτῷ ἡ σοὶ ποιήσειεν, ἀρ' ἄν σε εὐφράναι τούτῳ τῷ θεραπεύματι; 29. εἰ δὲ τοῦτό σοι δοκεῖ μικρὸν εἶναι, ἐκεῖνο κατανόησον· εἴ τις τοὺς σὲ θεραπεύοντας, οὓς σὺ καὶ φρουρᾶς καὶ στρατείας ἔνεκα κέκτησαι, τούτους οὕτω διατιθείη ὥστ' ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἡ σοῦ βούλεσθαι εἶναι, ἀρ' ἀν ἀντὶ ταύτης τῆς εὐεργεσίας χάριν αὐτῷ εἰδείης; 30. τί δέ, δο μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἀσπάζονται τε καὶ θεραπεύουσιν οἰκειότατα, εἴ τις τὴν γυναικα τὴν σὴν οὕτω θεραπεύσειεν ὥστε φιλεῖν αὐτὴν μᾶλλον ποιήσειεν ἑαυτὸν ἡ σέ, ἀρ' ἄν σε τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ ταύτῃ εὐφράναι· πολλοῦ γ' ἀν οἴμαι καὶ δέοι· ἀλλ' εὐ οἴδ' ὅτι πάντων ἀν μάλιστα ἀδικοίη σε τοῦτο ποιήσας.

31. "Ινα δὲ εἴπω καὶ τὸ μάλιστα τῷ ἐμῷ πάθει ἐμφερές, εἴ τις οὖς σὺ ἥγαγες Πέρσας οὕτω θεραπεύσειεν ὥστε αὐτῷ ἥδιον ἐπεσθαι ἡ σοί, ἀρ' ἀν φίλον αὐτὸν νομίζοις; οἴμαι μὲν οὖ, ἀλλὰ πολεμιώτερον ἀν ἡ εἰ, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν κατακάνοι. 32. τί δο, εἴ τις τῶν σῶν φίλων φιλοφρόνως σου εἰπόντος λαμβάνειν ὅπόσα ἐθέλοι εἴτα οὗτος¹

¹ εἴτα οὗτος Hug; εἴ y; εἴτ' αὐτοὶ C; εἴτ' αὐτὸς zE, Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.; εἴτα Marchant, Gemoll.

by you, I feel even more wherein I am made poorer. And I think I should be less displeased to see my subjects actually wronged a little by you than to see, as I do, that they have received great benefits from you. 28. But," he went on, "if it seems to you that it is unreasonable of me to take these things to heart, put yourself in my place and see in what light they appear to you. And tell me—if any one should pet your dogs, which you have been training for the protection of yourself and yours, and make them more familiar with himself than with you, would he please you with such petting? 29. Or if that seems to you a belittling comparison, think on this: if any one were to tamper with the attendants that you kept for your body-guard and for service in war, and so dispose them that they would rather be his than yours, would you be grateful to him for such kindness? 30. Again, let us take the object that men love most and most dearly cherish—suppose some one were to court your wife and make her love him more than yourself, would such kindness give you pleasure? Far from it, I think; for I am sure that he who should be guilty of such conduct would be doing you the greatest of all injuries.

31. "But to quote an example most nearly akin to my own case—if any one should so treat the Persians whom you have brought here as to make them more glad to follow him than you, would you consider him your friend? I trow not; but you would consider him more of an enemy than if he were to slay many of them. 32. Or again, if you in your kindness of heart were to tell one of your friends to take what-

τοῦτο ἀκούσας λαβὼν οἴχοιτο ἅπαντα ὅπόσα
δύναιτο, καὶ αὐτὸς μέν γε τοῖς σοῖς πλουτοίη,
σὺ δὲ μηδὲ μετρίοις ἔχοις χρῆσθαι, ἀρ' ἂν δύναιο
τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄμεμπτον φίλον νομίζειν;

33. Νῦν μέντοι ἐγώ, ὁ Κῦρε, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα
ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ σοῦ δοκῶ πεπονθέναι. σὺ
γάρ ἀληθῆ λέγεις· εἰπόντος ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἔθέλοντας
ἄγειν λαβὼν ὥχου πᾶσάν μου τὴν δύναμιν, ἐμὲ
δὲ ἕρημον κατέλιπες· καὶ νῦν ἡ Ἑλαβεῖς τῇ ἐμῇ
δυνάμει ἄγεις δή μοι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν αὔξεις
[σὺν]¹ τῇ ἐμῇ ῥώμῃ· ἐγὼ δὲ δοκῶ οὐδὲν συναίτιος
ῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρέχειν ἐμαυτὸν ὥσπερ γυνὴ¹
εὖ ποιεῖν, καὶ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ
τοῖσδε τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὑπηκόοις σὺ μὲν ἀνὴρ φαίνει,
ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἄξιος ἀρχῆς. 34. ταῦτα σοι δοκεῖ
εὐεργετήματ' εἶναι, ὁ Κῦρε; εὖ ἵσθ' ὅτι εἴ τι
ἐμοῦ ἐκήδου, οὐδενὸς ἀν οὗτῳ με ἀποστερεῦν
ἔφυλάττου ως ἀξιώματος καὶ τιμῆς. τί γάρ
ἐμοὶ πλέον τὸ τὴν γῆν πλατύνεσθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ
ἀτιμάζεσθαι; οὐ γάρ τοι ἐγὼ Μήδων ἥρχον διὰ
τὸ κρέίττων αὐτῶν πάντων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀξιοῦν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῶν πάντα
βελτίονας εἶναι.

35. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὑπολαβὼν
εἶπε, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, ὁ θεῖε, εἴ τι κἀγώ
σοι πρότερον ἔχαρισάμην, καὶ σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ¹
χάρισαι ὃ ἀν δεηθῶ σου· παῦσαι, ἔφη, τὸ νῦν
εἶναι μεμφόμενός μοι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ πεῖραν ἡμῶν
λάβης πῶς ἔχομεν πρὸς σέ, ἐὰν μὲν δή σοι
φαίνηται τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένα ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ

¹ σὺν MSS., Hug; [σὺν] Hartmann, Gemoll.

ever of yours he wanted, and if he, accepting your offer, should make off with everything he could and enrich himself with what belonged to you, while you had not even enough left for moderate use, could you consider such a one a blameless friend?

33. "Well then, Cyrus, it seems to me that your treatment of me has been, if not that, at least something like that; for what you say is true: I told you to take those who wished to go with you, and off you went with my whole force and left me deserted. And now what you have taken with my forces you bring to me, forsooth, and with my own strength you increase my realm; and I, it seems, having no share in securing this good fortune, must submit like a mere woman to receive favours, and you are a hero in the eyes of all the world and especially of my subjects here, while I am not considered worthy of my crown.

34. Do you think that these are deeds of kindness, Cyrus? Let me tell you that if you had any regard for me, there is nothing of which you would be so careful not to rob me as my reputation and my honour. For what do I gain, if I have my realm extended wide and lose my own honour? For I was not made king of the Medes because I was more powerful than they all, but rather because they themselves accounted us to be in all things better than themselves."

35. "By the gods, uncle," said Cyrus, interrupting him before he had finished speaking, "if I have ever done you any favour before, please do me now the favour that I beg of you: desist from blaming me for the present, and when you have proof from us how we feel toward you, if it then appears that what I have done was done for your benefit, return

Cyaxares
reconciled

XENOPHON

ἀγαθῷ πεποιημένα, ἀσπαζομένου τέ μού σε
ἀντασπάζου με εὐεργέτην τε νόμιζε, ἐὰν δ' ἐπὶ¹
θάτερα, τότε μοι μέμφου.

36. Ἐλλ' ἵσως μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, καλῶς
λέγεις· κάγὼ οὕτω ποιήσω.

Τί οὖν; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ή καὶ φιλήσω σε;
Εἰ σὺ βούλει, ἔφη.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέψει με ὥσπερ ἄρτι;
Οὐκ ἀποστρέψομαι, ἔφη.

Καὶ δις ἔφιλησεν αὐτόν.

37. Ως δὲ εἶδον οἱ Μῆδοι τε καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, πᾶσι γὰρ ἔμελεν δὲ τι ἐκ τούτων
ἔσοιτο, εὐθὺς ἡσθησάν τε καὶ ἐφαιδρύνθησαν.
καὶ ὁ Κῦρος δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ¹
τοὺς ἵππους ἤγουντο, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κυαξάρῃ
οἱ Μῆδοι εἴποντο, Κῦρος γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὕτως
ἐπένευσεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ οἱ Πέρσαι, οἱ δέ ἄλλοι
ἐπὶ τούτοις.

38. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον
καὶ κατέστησαν τὸν Κυαξάρην εἰς τὴν κατε-
σκευασμένην σκηνήν, οἵς μὲν ἐτέτακτο παρε-
σκεύαζον τάπιτήδεια τῷ Κυαξάρῃ. 39. οἱ δὲ
Μῆδοι ὅσον χρονον σχολὴν πρὸ δείπνου ἤγειρ-
ό Κυαξάρης ἦσαν πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ
καθ' ἑαυτούς, οἱ δὲ πλεῦστοι ὑπὸ Κύρου ἐγκέ-
λευστοι, δῶρα ἀγοντες, οἱ μέν τις οἰνοχοον καλόν,
οἱ δὲ ὀψοποιὸν ἀγαθόν, οἱ δὲ ἀρτοποιόν, οἱ δὲ μου-
σουργόν, οἱ δὲ ἔκπωμα,¹ οἱ δὲ ἐσθῆτα καλήν· πᾶς
δέ τις ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐν γέ τι ὡν εἰλήφει
ἔδωρεῖτο αὐτῷ. 40. ὥστε τὸν Κυαξάρην μετα-

¹ δ' ἔκπωμα Hug; δ' ἔκπάματα, δ δ' xy, Marchant, Gemoll;
οἱ δὲ ἔκπάματα zV, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Sauppe, et al.

my greeting when I greet you and consider me your benefactor; but if it seems the other way, then blame me."

36. "Well," said Cyaxares, "perhaps you are right after all; I will do so."

"Say then," said Cyrus, "may I kiss you, too?"

"If you please," said the other.

"And you will not turn away from me, as you did a little while ago?"

"No," said he.

So he kissed him.

37. And when the Medes and the Persians and the rest saw that, for they were all concerned to see what the outcome would be, they were satisfied and glad. Then Cyrus and Cyaxares mounted their horses and led the way, and the Medes followed after Cyaxares (for Cyrus gave them a nod so to do), the Persians fell in behind Cyrus, and the rest behind them.

38. And when they came to the camp and had lodged Cyaxares in the tent that had been made ready for him, they who had been detailed to do so supplied him with what he needed; 39. and as long as he had leisure before dinner, Cyaxares received calls from the Medes; some of them came of their own accord, but most of them went at the suggestion of Cyrus, taking presents with them—the one a handsome cup-bearer, another a fine cook, another a baker, another a musician, another a cup, another fine raiment; and every one of them, as a rule, presented him with at least one of the things that he had himself taken, 40. so that Cyaxares changed ^{He holds a reception}

XENOPHON

γιγνώσκειν ώς οὔτε ὁ Κῦρος ἀφίστη αὐτοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὕθ' οἱ Μῆδοι ἡττόν τι αὐτῷ προσεῖχον τὸν νοῦν ἢ καὶ πρόσθεν.

41. Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖπνου ὥρα ἦν, καλέσας ὁ Κυαξάρης ἡξίου τὸν Κῦρον διὰ χρόνου ἵδων¹ αὐτὸν συνδειπνεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔφη, Μή δὴ σὺ κέλευε, ὁ Κυαξάρη· ἢ οὐχ ὅρᾶς ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ παρόντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν πάντες ἐπαιρόμενοι πάρεισιν; οὐκουν καλῶς ἀν πράττοιμι εἰ τούτων ἀμελῶν τὴν ἐμὴν ἡδονὴν θεραπεύειν δοκοίην. ἀμελεῖσθαι δὲ δοκοῦντες στρατιῶται οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ πολὺ ἀθυμότεροι γίγνονται, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ πολὺ ὑβριστότεροι.

42. ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, ἔφη, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁδὸν μακρὰν ἥκων δεῖπνει ἡδη· καὶ εἴ τινές σε τιμῶσιν, ἀντασπάζου καὶ εὐώχει αὐτούς, ἵνα σε καὶ θαρρήσωσιν ἐγὼ δ' ἀπιών ἔφ' ἄπερ λέγω τρέψομαι.

43. αὔριον δ', ἔφη, πρῶ δεῦρ' ἐπὶ τὰς σὰς θύρας παρέσονται οἱ ἐπικαίριοι, ὅπως βουλευσώμεθα πάντες σὺν σοὶ ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκ τοῦδε. σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἔμβαλε βουλὴν² παρὼν περὶ τούτου πότερον ἔτι δοκεῖ³ στρατεύεσθαι ἢ καιρὸς ἡδη διαλύειν τὴν στρατιάν.

44. Ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης ἀμφὶ δεῖπνου εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος συλλέξας τοὺς ἰκανωτάτους τῶν φίλων καὶ φρονεῶν καὶ συμπράττειν, εἴ τι δέοι, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Ανδρες φίλοι, ἂ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ηὑξάμεθα, πάρεστι σὺν θεοῖς. ὅπη γὰρ ἀν πορευώμεθα, κρατοῦμεν τῆς χώρας· καὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους

¹ ἵδων Bothe, most Edd.; ἵδεντα MSS., Dindorf.

² βουλὴν supplied by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS. or earlier Edd. ³ δοκεῖ Ed. Junt., Edd.; δοκεῖς MSS.

his mind and realized that Cyrus was not alienating their affections from him and that the Medes were no less attentive to him than before.

41. And when the hour for dinner came, Cyaxares summoned Cyrus and asked him, as he had not seen him for a long time, to dine with him. But Cyrus answered: "Please, Cyaxares, do not ask me. Do you not see that all these who are here are here at our instance? I should not be doing right, then, if I should let them get the impression that I was neglecting them and pursuing my own pleasure. For when soldiers think they are being neglected, the good ones become much more despondent and the bad much more presuming. 42. But do you now go to dinner, especially as you have come a long way; and if any come to pay their respects to you, do you greet them kindly and entertain them well, so that they may feel confidence toward you also. For my part, I must go and attend to those matters of which I have been speaking to you. 43. And tomorrow morning my staff-officers will come with me to your headquarters, in order that we may all consult with you about what we should do next. Do you then and there lay before us the question whether it seems best to continue the campaign or whether it is now time to disband the armies."

44. After this Cyaxares attended to his dinner, while Cyrus collected those of his friends who were most able to think and to co-operate with him when occasion demanded, and addressed them as follows:

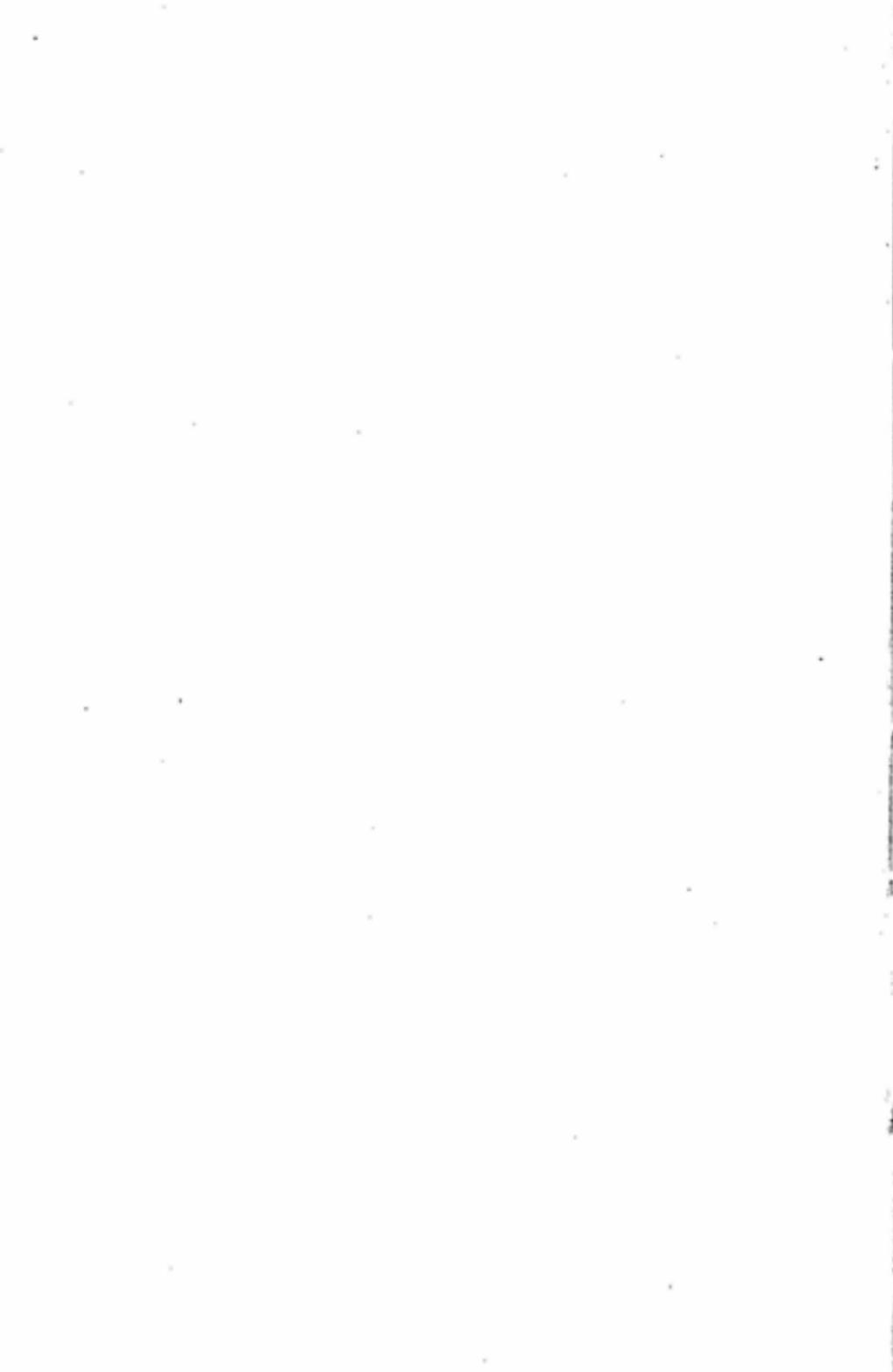
"My friends, with the help of the gods we have, you see, all that we prayed for at the first. For wherever we go, we are masters of the country. What is more, we see the enemy reduced, and our-

Cyrus
organizes
for the
continuance
of the war

XENOPHON

όρωμεν μειουμένους, ήμâς δὲ αὐτοὺς πλείονάς τε καὶ ἵσχυροτέρους γυγνομένους. 45. εἰ δὲ ήμîν ἔτι ἐθελήσειαν οἱ νῦν προσγεγενημένοι σύμμαχοι παραμεῖναι, πολλῷ ἀν μᾶλλον ἀνύσαι δυναίμεθα καὶ εἴ τι βιάσασθαι καιρὸς καὶ εἴ τι πεῖσαι δέοι. ὅπως οὖν τὸ μένειν ὡς πλείστοις συνδοκῆ τῶν συμμάχων, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἐμὸν ἔργον ἡ καὶ ὑμέτερον μηχανᾶσθαι, 46. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ ὅταν μάχεσθαι δέη, ὁ πλείστους χειρωσάμενος ἀλκιμωτατος δοξάζεται εἶναι, οὕτω καὶ ὅταν πεῖσαι δέη, ὁ πλείστους ὄμογνώμονας ήμîν ποιήσας οὗτος δικαίως ἀν εἶναι. 47. μὴ μέντοι ὡς λόγου ήμîν ἐπιδειξόμενοι οἷον ἀν εἴπητε πρὸς ἔκαστον αὐτῶν τοῦτο μελετᾶτε. ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς πεπεισμένους ὑφ' ἔκαστου δῆλους ἐσομένους οἵς ἀν πράττωσιν οὕτω παρασκευάζεσθε. 48. καὶ ὑμεῖς μέν, ἔφη, τούτων ἐπιμέλεσθε· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπως ἀν ἔχοντες τάπιτήδεια ὅσον ἀν ἔγωγε δύνωμαι οἱ στρατιῶται περὶ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι βουλεύωνται τούτου πειράσομαι ἐπιμέλεσθαι.

selves increased in both numbers and strength.
45. Now, if the allies we have gained would only stay on with us, we should be able to accomplish much more both by force, when occasion calls for it, and by persuasion, when that is needed; and it is not my business a whit more than it is yours to see to it that as many of the allies as possible agree to stay; 46. but just as, when we are called upon to fight, the one who conquers the greatest number has the glory of being considered the most valorous, so also when we are called upon to use persuasion, he that converts the greatest number to our opinion would justly be accounted at once the most eloquent and the most efficient. 47. Do not, however, aim at displaying to us the arguments that you will address to each one of them, but set to work with the feeling that those who are persuaded by any one of you will show what they are by what they do. 48. Do you, therefore, see to this. And I, for my part, will try to see to it, as far as I can, that the soldiers are supplied with all that they need, while they are deliberating about going on with the campaign."



BOOK VI

ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT BATTLE

Z

I

1. Ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτω διαγαγόντες καὶ δειπνήσαντες ἀνεπαύοντο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ πρῳ ἥκον ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαξάρου θύρας πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἔως οὖν ὁ Κυαξάρης ἐκοσμεῖτο, ἀκούων ὅτι πολὺς ὅχλος ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις εἴη, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ φίλοι τῷ Κύρῳ προσῆγον οἱ μὲν Καδουσίους δεομένους αὐτοῦ μένειν, οἱ δὲ Ὄτρκανίους, ὁ δέ τις Σάκας, ὁ δέ τις καὶ Γωβρύαν. Τστάσπας δὲ Γαδάταν τὸν εὔνοῦχον προσῆγε, δεόμενον τοῦ Κύρου μένειν. 2. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Κύρος γυγνώσκων ὅτι Γαδάτας πάλαι ἀπωλώλει τῷ φόβῳ μὴ λυθείη ἡ στρατιά, ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν, Ὡ Γαδάτα, δῆλος εἰ, ἔφη, ὑπὸ Τστάσπου τοῦδε πεπεισμένος ταῦτα γυγνώσκειν ἀ λέγεις. 3. καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπώμοσεν ἡ μὴν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τστάσπου πεισθεὶς ταῦτα γυγνώσκειν. 'Αλλ' οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι ἡν ὑμεῖς ἀπέλθητε, ἔρρει τάμα παντελῶς διὰ ταῦτ', ἔφη, καὶ τούτῳ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς

BOOK VI

I

1. AFTER spending that day in the manner described, they dined and went to rest. Early on the following morning all the allies came to Cyaxares's headquarters. So while Cyaxares was attiring himself (for he heard that there was a large concourse of people at his doors), various friends were presenting the allies to Cyrus. One group brought the Cadusians, who begged him to stay; another, the Hyrcanians; some one brought forward the Sacians, and some one else, Gobryas; Hystaspes presented Gadatas, the eunuch, and he also begged Cyrus to remain. 2. Then Cyrus, though he realized that Gadatas had for some time been frightened almost to death, for fear the army should be disbanded, laughing said: "It is clear, Gadatas, that Hystaspes here has been instigating you to the ideas that you have been expressing." 3. And Gadatas lifting up his hands toward heaven declared on his oath that he had not been influenced by Hystaspes to entertain those feelings. "But I know," said he, "that if you and your men go away, it is all over with me. For this reason, I introduced the subject with him

The allies
beg Cyrus
to stay

διελεγόμην, ἐρωτῶν εἰ τί δέει τί ἐν νῷ ἔχεις [ὑπὲρ τῆς διαλύσεως τοῦ στρατεύματος]¹ ποιεῖν.

4. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἐδίκως ἄρα ἐγὼ Ὁστάσπαν τόνδε² καταιτῶμαι.

Ἐδίκως μέντοι νὴ Δᾶ, ἔφη ὁ Ὁστάσπας, ὁ Κῦρε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔλεγον τῷ Γαδάτῃ τῷδε τοσοῦτον μόνον ὡς οὐχ οἴον τέ σοι εἴη στρατεύεσθαι, λέγων δὲ ὁ πατήρ σε μεταπέμπεται.

5. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, Τί λέγεις; ἔφη· καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἐτόλμησας ἔξενεγκεῖν, εἴτ' ἐγὼ ἐβουλόμην εἴτε μή;

Ναὶ μὰ Δᾶ, ἔφη· ὥρῳ γάρ σε ὑπερεπιθυμοῦντα ἐν Πέρσαις περίβλεπτον περιελθεῖν καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιδείξασθαι ἢ ἔκαστα διεπράξω.

Οὐδὲ Κῦρος ἔφη, Σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖς οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν;

Οὐ μὰ Δᾶ, ἔφη, ὁ Ὁστάσπας, οὐδὲ ἅπειμί γε, ἀλλὰ μένων στρατηγήσω, ἔως ᾧν ποιήσω Γαδάταν τουτονὶ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου δεσπότην.

6. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἔπαιξον σπουδῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κυαξάρης σεμιῶς κεκοσμημένος ἔξῆλθε καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου Μηδικοῦ ἔκαθέζετο. ὡς δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον οὖς ἔδει καὶ σιωπὴ ἐγένετο, ὁ Κυαξάρης ἔλεξεν ὡδε· "Ανδρες σύμμαχοι, ἵσως, ἐπειδὴ παρὼν τυγχάνω καὶ πρεσβύτερός εἰμι Κύρου, εἰκὸς ἄρχειν με λόγου. νῦν οὖν δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι καιρὸς περὶ τούτου πρώτου πρᾶτον διαλέγεσθαι

¹ ὑπὲρ . . . στρατεύματος MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

² Ὁστάσπαν τόνδε Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; Ὁστάσπου τοῦδε xzV, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hertlein; Ὁστάσπην y.

CYROPAEDIA, VI. i. 3-6

of my own accord, asking him if he knew what it was your intention to do with reference to disbanding the army."

4. "I was wrong, then, as it seems," said Cyrus, "in accusing our friend Hystaspas."

"Aye, by Zeus, Cyrus, you were indeed," said Hystaspas. "For I was only remarking to our friend Gadatas that it was not possible for you to go on with the campaign; for I told him that your father was sending for you."

5. "What do you mean?" said Cyrus. "Did you dare to let that get out, whether I would or no?"

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered; "for I observe that you are exceedingly anxious to go around in Persia the cynosure of all eyes, and to parade before your father the way you have managed everything here."

"And do not you wish to go home yourself?" asked Cyrus.

"No, by Zeus," said Hystaspas; "and I am not going either; but I shall stay here and be general, until I have made our friend Gadatas master of the Assyrian."

6. Thus half-seriously did they jest with one another.

Meantime, Cyaxares came out in gorgeous attire and seated himself on a Median throne. And when all whose presence was required had assembled and silence prevailed, Cyaxares addressed them as follows: "Friends and allies, since I happen to be here and am older than Cyrus, it is perhaps proper for me to open the conference. To begin with, this seems to me to be an opportune time for us to discuss the

The confer-
ence on the
continuance
of the war

XENOPHON

πότερον στρατεύεσθαι καιρὸς¹ ἔτι δοκεῖ [εἰναι]² ἡ διαλύειν ἥδη τὴν στρατιάν· λεγέτω οὖν τις, ἐφη, περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἡ γυγνώσκει.

7. Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτος μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Τρκάνιος, Ἀνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐκ οἶδα μὲν ἔγωγε εἴ τι δεῖ λόγων ὅπου αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα δείκνυσι τὸ κράτιστον. πάντες γάρ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ὁμοῦ μὲν δύντες³ πλείω κακὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ποιοῦμεν ἡ πάσχομεν· ὅτε δὲ χωρὶς ἡμεν ἀλλήλων, ἐκεῖνοι ἡμῖν ἔχρωντο ώς ἐκείνοις ἦν ἥδιστον, ἡμῖν γε μὴν ώς χαλεπώτατον.

8. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡ Καδούσιος εἶπεν, Ήμεῖς δὲ τί ἀν λέγοιμεν, ἐφη, περὶ τοῦ οἰκαδε ἀπελθόντες ἔκαστοι χωρὶς εἰναι, ὅπότε γε οὐδὲ στρατευομένοις, ώς ἔοικε, χωρίζεσθαι συμφέρει; ἡμεῖς γοῦν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον δίχα τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους στρατευσάμενοι δίκην ἔδομεν ώς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε.

9. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἡράβαζος ὃ ποτε φῆσας εἰναι Κύρου συγγενῆς ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἔγὼ δ·, ἐφη, ὡς Κυαξάρη, τοσοῦτον διαφέρομαι τοῖς πρόσθεν λέγουσιν· οὗτοι μὲν γάρ φασιν ὅτι δεῖ μένοντας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὅτι δέ μὲν οἴκοι ἦν, ἐστρατευόμην· 10. καὶ γάρ ἐβοήθουν πολλάκις τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγομένων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων φρουρίων ώς ἐπιβούλευσομένων πολλάκις πράγματα εἰχον φοβούμενός τε καὶ φρουρῶν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπραττον τὰ οἰκεῖα δαπανῶν. νῦν δὲ ἔχομεν⁴ τὰ ἐκείνων φρουρία, οὐ φοβούμαι δὲ ἐκείνους, εὐωχοῦμαι δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων καὶ πίνω τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

¹ καιρὸς xxv, Dindorf, Breitenbach; not in F; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

² εἰναι MSS.; [εἰναι] Dindorf, Edd.

³ μὲν δύντες Jacobs, Edd.; μένοντες MSS.; μὲν μένοντες D.

⁴ ἔχομεν E; ἔχο μὲν C; ἔχωμεν F; ἔχω μὲν zV, most Edd.

question whether it is desirable to continue our campaign longer or at once to disband the armies. Any one, therefore, may express his opinion in regard to this question."

7. Thereupon the Hyrcanian was the first to speak: "Friends and comrades, I, for my part, cannot see what is the use of words, when the facts themselves point out the best course to follow. For we all know that when we are together, we do the enemy more harm than they do us; whereas as long as we were apart, they treated us as was most agreeable to them and most disagreeable to us."

8. After him the Cadusian spoke: "Why," said he, "should we talk about going back home and being separated from one another, since not even in the field, so it seems, is it well for us to get separated? At any rate, we not long ago went off on an expedition apart from your main body and paid for it, as you also know."

9. After him Artabazus, the one who once claimed ^{I. iv. 27-28} to be a kinsman of Cyrus, made the following speech: "In one point, Cyaxares, I beg to differ from the previous speakers: they say that we must stay here and carry on the war; but I say that it was when I was at home that I was carrying on wars. 10. And I say truly; for I often had to go to the rescue when our property was being carried off; and when our fortresses were threatened, I often had trouble to defend them; I lived in constant fear and was kept continually on guard. And I fared thus at my own expense. But now we are in possession of their forts; I am in fear of them no longer; I revel in the good things of the enemy and drink what is

ώς οὖν τὰ μὲν οἴκοι στρατείαν οὖσαν, τάδε δὲ ἔορτήν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, διαλύειν τὴν πανήγυριν.

11. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ δέ, ὁ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε ἐπαινῶ τὴν Κύρου δεξιάν· οὐδὲν γάρ ψεύδεται ὃν ὑπέσχετο· εἰ δέ ἀπεισιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, δῆλον ὅτι δέ μὲν Ἀσσύριος ἀναπνεύσεται,¹ οὐ τίνων ποινὰς ὃν τε ὑμᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀδικεῖν καὶ ὃν ἐμὲ ἐποίησεν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκείνῳ πάλιν δώσω δίκην ὅτι ὑμῖν φίλοις ἐγενόμην.

12. Ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ὡ οὖδες, οὐδὲ ἐμὲ λαιθάνει ὅτι ἐὰν μὲν διαλύωμεν τὸ στράτευμα, τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα ἀσθενέστερα γίγνονται² ἄν, τὰ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων πάλιν αὐξήσεται. ὅσοι τε γάρ αὐτῶν ὅπλα ἀφήρηνται, ταχὺ ἄλλα ποιήσονται· ὅσοι τε ἵππους ἀπεστέρηνται, ταχὺ πάλιν ἄλλους ἵππους κτήσονται· ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἔτεροι ἐφηβήσουσι [καὶ ἐπιγενήσονται].² ὥστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ πάνυ ἐν τάχει πάλιν ἡμῖν πράγματα παρέχειν δυνήσονται.

13. Τί δῆτα ἐγὼ Κυαξάρην ἐκέλευσα λόγον ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς στρατιᾶς; εὑ̄ ιστε ὅτι φοβούμενος τὸ μέλλον. ὅρω γάρ ἡμῖν ἀντιπάλους προσιόντας οἱς ἡμεῖς, εἰ δέ στρατευσόμεθα, οὐ δυνησόμεθα μάχεσθαι. 14. προσέρχεται μὲν γάρ δήπου χειμῶν, στέγαι δὲ εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, ἄλλὰ μὰ Δί οὐχ ἵπποις οὐδὲ

¹ ἀναπνεύσεται Hertlein, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀναπαύσεται MSS., earlier Edd.

² καὶ ἐπιγενήσονται MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Schneider, later Edl.

theirs. Therefore, as life at home was warfare, while life here is a feast, I do not care to have this festal gathering break up."

11. After him Gobryas spoke: "Friends and comrades, up to the present time I have only praise for Cyrus's faithfulness; for he has not proved untrue in anything that he has promised. But if he leaves the country now, it is evident that the Assyrian will take new heart without having to pay any penalty for the wrongs he has attempted to do us all and for those which he has done me; and I, in my turn, shall pay to him the penalty for having been your friend."

12. Last of all Cyrus spoke: "I, too, am not un-aware, my friends, that if we disband the army, our own situation would become weaker, while the enemy will again gather force. For as many of them as have been deprived of their arms will soon have new ones made, and as many as have been deprived of their horses will soon again procure others, while in place of those who have been killed others will have grown to young manhood to take their places. And so it will not be at all surprising, if in a very short time they are able again to give us trouble.

13. "Why then do you suppose I suggested to Cyaxares to bring up the question of disbanding the army? Let me tell you; it was because I feared for the future; for I see foes advancing against us that we shall never be able to cope with, if we go on campaigning in our present fashion. 14. For winter is coming, you know; and even granting that we have shelter for ourselves, still, by Zeus, there will

The battle
against cold
and hunger

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θεράπουσιν οὐδὲ τῷ δῆμῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὃν ἄνευ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀν δυναίμεθα στρατεύεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια δποι μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐληλύθαμεν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀνήλωται· δποι δὲ μὴ ἀφίγμεθα, διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς φοβεῖσθαι ἀνακεκομισμένοι εἰσὶν εἰς ἔρυματα, ὅστε αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ταῦτα μὴ δύνασθαι λαμβάνειν. 15. τίς οὖν οὔτως ἀγαθὸς ἢ τίς οὔτως ἴσχυρὸς δις λιμῷ καὶ φίγει δύναιται ἀν μαχόμενος στρατεύεσθαι; εἰ μὲν οὖν οὔτω στρατευσόμεθα, ἐγὼ μέν φημι χρῆναι ἔκοντας ἡμᾶς καταλῦσαι τὴν στρατιὰν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄκοντας ὑπ' ἀμηχανίᾳς ἔξελαθῆναι. εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ἔτι στρατεύεσθαι, τόδ' ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι ποιεῖν, ὡς τάχιστα πειρᾶσθαι τῶν μὲν ἐκείνων ὁχυρῶν ὡς πλεῖστα παραιρεῖν, ἡμῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς πλεῖστα ὁχυρὰ ποιεῖσθαι· ἐὰν γὰρ ταῦτα γένηται, τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια πλείω ἔξουσιν ὄπότεροι ἀν πλείω δύνωνται λαβόντες ἀποτίθεσθαι, πολιορκήσονται δὲ ὄπότεροι ἀν ἥπτους ὧσι. 16. νῦν δ' οὐδὲν διαφέρομεν τῶν ἐν τῷ πελάγει πλεόντων· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πλέουσι μέν ἀεί, τὸ δὲ πεπλευσμένον οὐδὲν οἰκειότερον τοῦ ἀπλεύστου καταλείπουσιν. ἐὰν δὲ φρουρία ἡμῖν γένηται, ταῦτα δὴ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἀλλοτριώσει τὴν χώραν, ἡμῖν δ' ὑπ' εὐδίαιν μᾶλλον πάντ' ἔσται.

17. Ὁ δὲ ἵσως ἄν τινες ὑμῶν φοβηθεῖεν, εἰ δεήσει πόρρω τῆς ἑαυτῶν φρουρεῖν, μηδὲν τοῦτο ὀκνήσητε. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπείπερ καὶ ὡς οἴκοθεν ἀποδημοῦμεν, φρουρήσειν ὑμῖν ἀναδεχόμεθα τὰ ἐγγύτατα χωρία τῶν πολεμίων, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ πρόσ-

be none for our horses or for our attendants or for the rank and file of the army ; and without them we could not carry on the war. The provisions, wherever we have gone, we have consumed ; and where we have not gone, the people out of fear of us have conveyed them into their strongholds, so that they have them themselves, and we cannot get them.

15. Who then is so valiant and so strong that he can prosecute a war while battling against hunger and cold ? If, therefore, we propose to go on with the war as we have been doing, I maintain that we ought of our own free will to disband the army, rather than against our will to be driven out of the country by lack of means. But if we wish to go on with the war, this I say we must do : we must try as quickly as we may to get possession of as many as possible of their forts and build for ourselves as many as we can. For, if this is done, that side will have more provisions which is able to get and store up more, and those will be in a state of siege who are weaker.

16. As we are, we are not at all different from those who sail the seas : they keep on sailing continually, but they leave the waters over which they have sailed no more their own than those over which they have not sailed. But if we get fortresses, these will alienate the country from the enemy while everything will be smooth sailing for us.

17. "But perhaps some of you may fear that you will possibly have to do garrison duty far from your own country. You need have no hesitation on that score. For since we are far from home in any event, we will take it upon ourselves to do the garrison duty for you in the places nearest to the enemy ; but those parts of Assyria which are on your

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ορα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς Ἀσσυρίας ἐκεῖνα κτᾶσθε καὶ ἐργάζεσθε. 18. ἐὰν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὰ πλησίον¹ αὐτῶν φρουροῦντες δυνώμεθα σώζεσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ὑμεῖς εἰρήνη ἔσεσθε οἱ τὰ πρόσω αὐτῶν ἔχοντες· οὐ γὰρ οἷμαι δυνήσονται τῶν ἐγγὺς ἑαυτῶν δυτῶν ἀμελοῦντες τοῖς πρόσω ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύειν.

19. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐρρήθη, οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνιστάμενοι συμπροθυμήσεσθαι ταῦτ' ἔφασαν καὶ Κυαξάρης. Γαδάτας δὲ καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ τεῖχος ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν, ἣν ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἱ σύμμαχοι, τειχιεῖσθαι ἔφασαν, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα φίλια τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπάρχειν.

20. Ο οὖν Κύρος ἐπεὶ πάντας ἑώρα προθύμους δυτὰς πράττειν δσα ἔλεξε, τέλος εἶπεν, Εἴ τοίνυν πέραινειν βουλόμεθα δσα φαμὲν χρῆναι ποιεῖν, ὡς τάχιστ' ἀν δέοι γενέσθαι μηχανὰς μὲν εἰς τὸ καθαιρεῖν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων τείχη, τέκτονας δὲ εἰς τὸ ἡμῖν δχυρὰ πυργοῦσθαι.

21. Ἐκ τούτου ὑπέσχετο ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης μηχανὴν αὐτὸς ποιησάμενος παρέξειν, ἄλλην δὲ Γαδάτας καὶ Γωβρύας, ἄλλην δὲ Τυγράνης· αὐτὸς δὲ Κύρος ἔφη δύο πειράσεσθαι ποιήσασθαι. 22. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔδοξεν, ἐπορίζοντο μὲν μηχανοποιούς, παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καστοὶ εἰς τὰς μηχανὰς ὡν ἔδει· ἄνδρας δὲ ἐπέστησαν οἱ ἐδόκουν· ἐπιτηδειότατοι εἶναι ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' ἔχειν.

23. Κύρος δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔγνω δτὶ διατριβὴ ἔσται ἀμφὶ ταῦτα, ἐκάθισε τὸ στράτευμα ἔνθα φέτο

¹ πλησίον γ, Edd.; πλείω καὶ V (*the greater part*).

own borders—do you take possession of them and cultivate them. 18. For if we can safely guard what is near the enemy, you will enjoy a plenitude of peace in possession of the regions far away from them; for they, I trow, will not be able to neglect those who are close to them, while they lay schemes against those who are far away."

19. After these speeches all the rest, and Cyaxares with them, stood up and declared that they would be glad to co-operate with him in these plans. And Gadatas and Gobryas said that if the allies would permit them, they would each of them build a fortress, so that the allies should have these also on their side.

20. Accordingly, when Cyrus saw that all were ready to do whatever he suggested, he finally said: "Well then, if we wish to put into execution what we say we ought to do, we should as soon as possible procure siege-engines to demolish the enemy's forts, and builders to erect strong towers for our own defence."

21. Hereupon Cyaxares promised to have an engine made at his own expense and to put it at their disposal, Gadatas and Gobryas promised another, and Tigranes a third; Cyrus said that he would himself try to furnish two. 22. When this had been agreed upon, they set to work to procure engine-builders and to furnish whatever was needed for the construction of the engines; and they put in charge of it men whom they considered most competent to attend to this work.

23. Since Cyrus realized that a long time would be required for the execution of these designs, he encamped with his army in a place which he thought

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νγιεινότατον εἶναι καὶ εὐπροσοδώτατον ὅσα ἔδει προσκομίζεσθαι· ὅσα τε ἐρυμνότητος προσεδεῖτο, ἐποιήσατο, ώς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ οἱ ἀεὶ μένοντες εἰεν, εἴ ποτε καὶ πρόσω τῇ ἴσχύι ἀποστρατοπεδεύοιτο.

24. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐρωτῶν οὓς φέτο μάλιστα εἰδέναι τὴν χώραν ὑπόθεν ἀν ώς πλεῦστα ὠφελοῖτο τὸ στράτευμα, ἐξῆγεν ἀεὶ εἰς προνομάς, ἀμα μὲν ὅπως ὅτι πλεῦστα λαμβάνοι τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ πιτήδεια, ἀμα δ' ὅπως μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνοιεν καὶ ἴσχύοιεν διαπονούμενοι τὰς πορείας, ἀμα δ' ὅπως ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τὰς τάξεις ὑπομιμνήσκοιντο.

25. 'Ο μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

'Εκ δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οἱ αὐτόμολοι καὶ οἱ ἀλισκόμενοι ταῦτ'¹ ἔλεγον ὅτι ὁ Ἀσσύριος οἶχοιτο ἐπὶ Λυδίας, πολλὰ τάλαιτα χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἄγων καὶ ἄλλα κτήματα καὶ κόσμον παντοδαπόν.

26. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὄχλος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔλεγεν ώς ὑπεκτίθοιτο ἥδη τὰ χρήματα φοβούμενος· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος γυγνώσκων ὅτι οἶχοιτο συστήσων εἴ τι δύναιτο ἀντίπαλον ἑαυτῷ, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο ἐρρωμένως, ώς μάχης ἔτι δεῆσον· ὡστ'² ἐξεπίμπλη μὲν τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἵππικόν, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τοὺς δέ τινας καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων

¹ ταῦτ' Bothe, Edt. ; ταῦτ' MSS.

² ὡστ' Poppo, Edt. ; ὡς δ' xzV ; καὶ yV (corr.).

was most healthful and most readily accessible for conveying there everything that was necessary. And wherever any point needed further strengthening, he made provision that those who from time to time remained there should be in safety, even if he should be encamped at a distance with the main body of his forces. 24. But in addition to this, he made constant inquiry of those whom he thought likely to know about the country from what parts of it the army might get supplies as plentifully as possible and kept leading his men out on foraging expeditions; this he did partly that he might get supplies for the army in as great abundance as possible, partly that they might become inured to labour through these expeditions and might thus be in better health and strength, and partly that by such marches they might be enabled to keep their respective positions in mind.

25. Thus, then, Cyrus was occupied.

From Babylon a report was now brought by The king leaves Babylon deserters and confirmed by his prisoners of war, that the Assyrian king had gone off in the direction of Lydia with many talents of gold and silver and with other treasures and jewels of every sort. 26. So it became general talk among the rank and file of the soldiers that he was already conveying his treasures to a place of safety because he was afraid. But Cyrus, recognizing that he had gone for the purpose of forming, if he could, a coalition against him, made vigorous counter preparation in the expectation that he would have to fight again. And so he set Cyrus increases his cavalry about bringing to its full complement the Persian cavalry, for which he obtained horses, some requisitioned from the captives, and a certain number

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λαμβάνων ἵππους· ταῦτα γὰρ παρὰ πάντων
ἔδεχετο καὶ ἀπεωθεῖτο οὐδέν, οὔτε εἴ τις ὅπλον
διδοίη καλὸν οὔτ' εἴ τις ἵππον.

27. Κατεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ἄρματα ἔκ τε τῶν
αἰχμαλώτων ἄρμάτων καὶ ἄλλοθεν ὁπόθεν ἐδύ-
νατο. καὶ τὴν μὲν Τρωικὴν διφρείαν πρόσθεν
οὖσαν καὶ τὴν Κυρηναϊών ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἄρματηλα-
σίαν κατέλυσε· τὸν γὰρ πρόσθεν χρόνον καὶ οἱ
ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ καὶ Συρίᾳ καὶ Αραβίᾳ καὶ πάντες οἱ
ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς ἄρμασιν οὔτως ἔχρωντο ὥσπερ
νῦν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι. 28. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτῷ, δὲ κράτιστον
εἰκὸς ἦν εἶναι τῆς δυνάμεως, διητων τῶν βελτί-
στῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρμασι, τοῦτο ἐν ἀκροβολιστῶν μέρει
εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸ κρατεῖν οὐδὲν μέγα [βάρος]¹
συμβάλλεσθαι. ἄρματα γὰρ τριακόσια τοὺς μὲν
μαχομένους παρέχεται τριακοσίους, ἵππους δ'
οὗτοι χρώνται διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. ἡνίοχοι δ'
αὐτοῖς εἰσὶ μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς οἱς μάλιστα πιστεύουσιν,
οἱ βέλτιστοι ἄλλοι δ' εἰσὶ τριακόσιοι οὗτοι,²
οἱ οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτουσι.

29. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν διφρείαν κατέλυσεν· ἀντὶ
δὲ τούτου πολεμιστήρια κατεσκευάσατο ἄρματα
τροχοῖς τε ἰσχυροῖς, ὡς μὴ ῥαδίως συντρίβηται,
ἄξοσί τε μακροῖς. ἡττον γὰρ ἀνατρέπεται πάντα³
τὰ πλατέα· τὸν δὲ δίφρον τοῖς ἡνιοχοῖς ἐποίησεν
ὥσπερ πύργον ἰσχυρῶν ξύλων· ὕψος δὲ τούτων
ἐστὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀγκώνων, ὡς δύνωνται ἡνιοχεῖ-
σθαι οἱ ἵπποι ὑπὲρ τῶν δίφρων τοὺς δὲ ἡνιοχούς

¹ βάρος xx; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; μέρος γV, Dindorf; omitted by Bornemann, Breitenbach.

² εἰσὶ τριακόσιοι οὗτοι Schneider, Breitenbach, Hug, Mar-
chant; εἰς τριακοσίους οὗτοι εἰσι xx, Dindorf; εἰς τριακοσίους
οὗτοι δέ εἰσι γ.

also presented to him by his friends ; for he accepted such gifts from every one and never refused anything, whether any one offered him a fine weapon or a horse.

27. Besides, with the chariots taken from the enemy and with whatever others he could get he equipped a corps of chariots of his own. The method of managing a chariot employed of old at Troy and that in vogue among the Cyrenaeans even unto this day he abolished ; for in previous times people in Media and in Syria and in Arabia, and all the people in Asia used the chariot just as the Cyrenaeans now do. 28. But it seemed to him that inasmuch as the best men were mounted on the chariots, that part which might have been the chief strength of the army acted only the part of skirmishers and did not contribute anything of importance to the victory. For three hundred chariots call for three hundred combatants and require twelve hundred horses. And the fighting men must of course have as drivers the men in whom they have most confidence, that is, the best men to be had. That makes three hundred more, who do not do the enemy the least harm. 29. So he abolished this method of handling chariots, and in place of it he had chariots of war constructed with strong wheels, so that they might not easily be broken, and with long axles ; for anything broad is less likely to be overturned. The box for the driver he constructed out of strong timbers in the form of a turret ; and this rose in height to the drivers' elbows, so that they could manage the horses by reaching over the top of the box ; and, besides, he covered

Cyrus introduces a corps of chariots of war

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έθωράκισε πάντα πλὴν τῶν δόφθαλμῶν. 30. προσ-
έθηκε δὲ καὶ δρέπανα σιδηρᾶ ὡς διπήχη πρὸς
τοὺς ἄξονας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῶν τροχῶν καὶ ἄλλα
κάτω ὑπὸ τῷ ἄξονι εἰς τὴν γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς ἐμ-
βαλούντων εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους τοῖς ἄρμασιν. ὡς
δὲ τότε Κῦρος ταῦτα κατεσκεύασεν, οὕτως ἦτι καὶ
νῦν τοῖς ἄρμασι χρῶνται οἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλέως
χώρᾳ.

* Ήσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κάμηλοι πολλαὶ παρά τε
τῶν φίλων συνειλεγμέναι καὶ αἱ¹ αἰχμαλωτοὶ
πᾶσαι συνηθροισμέναι.

31. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω συνεπεραίνετο.

Βουλόμενος δὲ κατάσκοπόν τινα πέμψαι ἐπὶ²
Λυδίας καὶ μαθεῖν δὲ τι πράττοι ὁ Ἀσσύριος,
ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι Ἀράσπας ἐλθεῖν
ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὁ φυλάττων τὴν καλὴν γυναικα. συνε-
βεβήκει γὰρ τῷ Ἀράσπα τοιάδε· ληφθεὶς ἔρωτι
τῆς γυναικὸς ἡναγκάσθη προσενεγκεῖν λόγους
αὐτῇ περὶ συνουσίας. 32. ἡ δὲ ἀπέφησε μὲν
καὶ ἦν πιστὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καίπερ ἀπόντι· ἐφίλει
γὰρ αὐτὸν ἴσχυρῶς· οὐ μέντοι κατηγόρησε τοῦ
Ἀράσπου πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, ὅκνοῦσα συμβαλεῖν
φίλους ἄνδρας. 33. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀράσπας δοκῶν
ὑπηρετήσειν τῷ τυχεῖν ἢ ἐβούλετο ἡπείλησε
τῇ γυναικὶ ὅτι εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ἐκοῦσα, ἀκούσα
ποιήσοι ταῦτα, ἐκ τούτου ἡ γυνή, ὡς ἔδεισε τὴν
βίαν, οὐκέτι κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ πέμπει τὸν εὔνοούχον
πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον καὶ κελεύει λέξαι πάντα.

34. Ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἀναγελάσας ἐπὶ τῷ
κρείττονι τοῦ ἔρωτος φάσκοντι εἶναι, πέμπει
Ἀρτάβαζον σὺν τῷ εὔνοούχῳ καὶ κελεύει αὐτῷ

¹ αἱ Dindorf, Edd.; not in MSS.

the drivers with mail, all except their eyes. 30. On both sides of the wheels, moreover, he attached to the axles steel scythes about two cubits long and beneath the axles other scythes pointing down toward the ground ; this was so arranged with the intention of hurling the chariots into the midst of the enemy. And as Cyrus constructed them at that time, such even to this day are the chariots in use in the king's dominions.

He also had a large number of camels, some collected from among his friends and some taken in war, all brought together.

31. Thus these plans were being put into execution.

Now, he wished to send some one as a spy into Lydia to find out what the Assyrian was doing, and it seemed to him that Araspas, the guardian of the beautiful woman, was the proper person to go on this mission. Now Araspas's case had taken a turn like this : he had fallen in love with the lady and could not resist the impulse to approach her with amorous proposals. 32. But she repulsed his advances and was true to her husband, although he was far away ; for she loved him devotedly. Still, she did not accuse Araspas to Cyrus, for she shrank from making trouble between friends. 33. But when Araspas, thinking that he should thus further the attainment of his desires, threatened the woman that he would use force if she would not submit willingly, then in fear of outrage the lady no longer kept it secret but sent her eunuch to Cyrus with instructions to tell him the whole story. Araspas and Panthea

34. When Cyrus heard it he laughed outright at the man who had claimed to be superior to the passion of love ; and he sent Artabazus back with the She appeals to Cyrus

εἰπεῖν βιάζεσθαι μὲν μὴ τοιαύτην γυναῖκα, πείθειν δὲ εἰ δύναιτο, οὐκ ἔφη κωλύειν.

35. Ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος πρὸς τὸν Ἀράσπαν ἐλοιδόρησκεν αὐτὸν, παρακαταθήκην ὀνομάζων τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀσέβειάν τε αὐτοῦ λέγων ἀδικίαν τε καὶ¹ ἀκράτειαν, ὡστε τὸν Ἀράσπαν πολλὰ μὲν δακρύειν ὑπὸ λύπης, καταδύεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης, ἀπολωλέναι δὲ τῷ φόβῳ μή τι καὶ πάθοι ὑπὸ Κύρου.

36. Ο οὖν Κῦρος καταμαθὼν ταῦτα ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν καὶ μόνος μόνῳ ἔλεξεν, Ὁρῶ σε, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀράσπα, φοβούμενόν τε ἐμὲ καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ δεινῷς ἔχοντα. παῦσαι οὖν τούτων ἐγὼ γάρ θεούς τε ἀκούω ἔρωτος ἡττῆσθαι, ἀνθρώπους τε οἴδα καὶ μάλα δοκοῦντας φρονίμους εἶναι οἱα πεπόνθασιν ὑπ' ἔρωτος καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἐμαυτοῦ κατέγνων μὴ ἀν καρτερῆσαι ὡστε συνὼν καλοῖς ἀμελεῖν αὐτῶν. καὶ σοὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἐγὼ αἰτιός είμι· ἐγὼ γάρ σε συγκαθεῖρξα τούτῳ τῷ ἀμάχῳ πράγματι.

37. Καὶ ὁ Ἀράσπας ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ σὺ μέν, ὁ Κῦρε, καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοιος εἶ οἴσπερ καὶ τὰλλα, πρᾶός τε καὶ συγγνώμων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀμαρτημάτων· ἐμὲ δ', ἔφη, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρώποι καταδύουσι τῷ ἄχει. ώς γάρ ὁ θροῦς διῆλθε τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ ἐφῆδονται μοι, οἱ δὲ φίλοι προσιόντες συμβουλεύονται ἐκποδῶν ἔχειν ἐμαυτόν, μή τι καὶ πάθω ὑπὸ σοῦ, ώς ἡδικηκότος ἐμοῦ μεγάλα.

38. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Εὖ τοίνυν ἔσθι, ὁ

¹ καὶ MSS., most Edd.; τὴν Hartmann (*calling his weakness ungodliness and sinfulness*).

eunuch and bade him warn Araspas not to lay violent hands upon such a woman ; but if he could win her consent, he himself would interpose no objection.

35. So, when Artabazus came to Araspas, he rebuked him severely, saying that the woman had been given to him in trust ; and he dwelt upon his ungodliness, sinfulness, and sensuality, until Araspas shed bitter tears of contrition and was overwhelmed with shame and frightened to death lest Cyrus should punish him.

36. So, when Cyrus learned of this he sent for him and had a talk with him in private. "I see, Araspas," said he, "that you are afraid of me and terribly overcome with shame. Do not feel that way, pray ; for I have heard say that even gods are victims of love ; and as for mortals, I know what even some who are considered very discreet have suffered from love. And I had too poor an opinion of myself to suppose that I should have the strength of will to be thrown in contact with beauty and be indifferent to it. Besides, I am myself responsible for your condition, for it was I that shut you up with this irresistible creature."

37. "Aye, Cyrus," said Araspas, interrupting him, "you are in this, just as in everything else, gentle and forgiving of human errors. Other men make me ready to sink with my shaine ; for ever since the report of my fall got out, my enemies have been exulting over me, while my friends come to me and advise me to keep out of the way, for fear that you punish me for committing so great a wrong."

38. "Let me tell you then, Araspas," said Cyrus,

Cyrus dis-
cusses with
Araspas his
fall

XENOPHON

Αράσπα, δτι ταύτη τῇ δόξῃ οἶος τ' εἰ ἐμοί τε
ἰσχυρῶς χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους μεγάλα
ἀφελῆσαι.

Εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο, ἔφη ὁ Ἀράσπας, ὅ τι ἐγώ σοι ἐν
καιρῷ ἀν γενοίμην [αὐτὸν χρήσιμος].¹

39. Εἴ τοί τοι γένεται, ἔφη, προσποιησάμενος ἐμὲ φεύ-
γειν ἀθέλοις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλιθεῖν, οἶμαι ἀν
σε πιστευθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

Ἐγωγε ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἔφη ὁ Ἀράσπας, καὶ ὑπὸ
τῶν φίλων οἶδα δτι ὡς σὲ πεφευγὼς λόγου ἀν
παρέχοιμ.

40. Ἐλθοις ἀν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἡμῖν πάντα εἰδὼς
τὰ τῶν πολεμίων οἶμαι δὲ καὶ λόγων καὶ βου-
λευμάτων κοινωνὸν ἀν σε ποιοῦντο διὰ τὸ πιστεύ-
ειν, ὥστε μηδὲ ἐν σε λεληθέναι ὡν βουλόμεθα
εἰδέναι.

Ως πορευσομένου, ἔφη, ἥδη νυνὶ καὶ γὰρ
τοῦτο ἵσως ἐν τῶν πιστῶν ἔσται τὸ δοκεῖν με
ὑπὸ σοῦ μελλήσαντά τι παθεῖν ἐκπεφευγέναι.

41. Ἡ καὶ δυνήσει ἀπολιπεῖν, ἔφη, τὴν καλὴν
Πάνθειαν;

Δύο γάρ, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρος, σαφῶς ἔχω ψυχάς· νῦν
τοῦτο πεφιλοσόφηκα μετὰ τοῦ ἀδίκου σοφιστοῦ
τοῦ Ἑρωτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ μία γε οὖσα ἄμα ἀγαθή
τέ ἔστι καὶ κακή, οὐδὲ ἄμα καλῶν τε καὶ αἰσχρῶν
ἔργων ἔρᾳ καὶ ταύτᾳ² ἄμα βούλεται τε καὶ οὐ
βούλεται πράττειν, ἀλλὰ δῆλον δτι δύο ἔστὸν
ψυχά, καὶ δταν μὲν ἡ ἀγαθὴ κρατῆ, τὰ καλὰ

¹ αὐτὸν χρήσιμος MSS. ; omitted by Weiske, Edd.

² ταύτᾳ Stephanus, Edd. ; ταῦτα MSS.

"that by reason of this very report which people have heard in regard to you, you are in a position to do me a very great favour and to be of great assistance to our allies."

"Would that some occasion might arise," answered Araspas, "in which I could be of service to you."

39. "If, then," said the other, "under pretence Cyrus sends him as a spy that you were fleeing from me you would go over into the enemy's country, I believe they would trust you."

"Aye, by Zeus," said Araspas, "and I know that even with my friends I could start the story that I was running away from you."

40. "Then you would return to us," said he, "with full information about the enemy's condition and plans. And I suppose that because of their trusting you they would make you a participant in their discussions and counsels, so that not a single thing that we wish to know would be hidden from you."

"Depend upon it," said he, "I will start at once; and one of the circumstances that will gain my story credence will be the appearance that I have run away because I was likely to be punished by you."

41. "And will you be able to give up the beautiful Panthea?" asked Cyrus.

"Yes, Cyrus," said he; "for I evidently have two souls. I have now worked out this doctrine of philosophy in the school of that crooked sophist, Eros. For if the soul is one, it is not both good and bad at the same time, neither can it at the same time desire the right and the wrong, nor at the same time both will and not will to do the same things; but it is obvious that there are two souls, and when the good one prevails, what is right is done; but when the bad

Doctrine of
the duality
of the soul

πράττεται, ὅταν δὲ ἡ πονηρά, τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐπι-
χειρεῖται. νῦν δὲ ὡς σὲ σύμμαχον ἔλαβε, κρατεῖ
ἡ ἀγαθὴ καὶ πάνυ πολὺ.

42. Εἰ τοίνυν καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ πορεύεσθαι, ἔφη
ὁ Κῦρος, ὃδε χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἵνα κάκείνοις πιστότερος
ἡς· ἔξαγγελλέ τε αὐτοῖς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν, οὕτω τε
ἔξαγγελλε ὡς ἀν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ σοῦ λεγόμενα
ἐμποδὼν μάλιστ’ ἀν εἴη ὡν βούλονται πράττειν.
εἴη δ’ ἀν ἐμποδών, εἰ ἡμᾶς φαίης παρασκευάζεσθαι
ἐμβαλεῖν ποι¹ τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας· ταῦτα γὰρ
ἀκούοντες ἡττον ἀν παντὶ σθένει ἀθροίζοιντο,
ἔκαστος τις φοβούμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκοι.
43. καὶ μένε, ἔφη, παρ’ ἐκείνοις ὅτι πλεῖστον
χρόνον· ἀ γὰρ ἀν ποιῶσιν ὅταν ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν
ῶστι, ταῦτα μάλιστα καιρὸς ἡμῖν εἰδέναι ἔσται.
συμβούλευε δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκτάττεσθαι ὅπῃ ἀν
δοκῆ κράτιστον εἶναι· ὅταν γὰρ σὺ ἀπέλθης
εἰδέναι δοκῶν τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον οὕτω
τετάχθαι αὐτοῖς· μετατάπτεσθαι γὰρ ὀκνήσουσι,
καὶ ἦν πῃ ἄλλῃ μετατάπτωνται ἔξ οὐ πογύου,
ταράξονται.

44. Ἀράσπας μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔξελθὼν καὶ συλ-
λαβὼν τοὺς πιστοτάτους θεράποντας καὶ εἰπὼν
πρὸς τινας ἀ φέτο συμφέρειν τῷ πράγματι φέτο.

45. Ἡ δὲ Πάνθεια ὡς ἥσθετο οἰχόμενον τὸν
Ἀράσπαν, πέμψασα πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον εἰπε, Μὴ

¹ ποι Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ποι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

one gains the ascendancy, what is wrong is attempted. And now, since she has taken you to be her ally, it is the good soul that has gained the mastery, and that completely."

42. "Well then," answered Cyrus, "if you also have decided to go, this is what you must do so as to gain the more credence with them: tell them all about our affairs, but frame your account in such a way that your information will be the greatest possible hindrance to the success of their plans. And it would be a hindrance, if you should represent that we were making ready to invade their country at some point; for upon hearing this, they would be less likely to gather in full force, as each man would be afraid for his own possessions at home. 43. And stay with them as long as possible; for the most valuable information we can have will be in regard to what they are doing when they have come nearest to us. And advise them also to marshal themselves in whatever order seems best; for when you come away, it will be necessary for them to retain this order, even though they think you are familiar with it. For they will be slow to change it, and, if on the spur of the moment they make a change anywhere, they will be thrown into confusion."

44. Then Araspas withdrew; he got together the most trusted of his attendants, told some of his friends such things as he thought would contribute to the success of his scheme, and was gone.

45. When Panthea learned that Araspas had gone away, she sent word to Cyrus, saying: "Do not be Panthea sends for Abradatas

Cyrus's final instructions to Araspas

XENOPHON

λυποῦ, ὡς Κῦρε, ὅτι Ἀράσπας οἴχεται εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἡν γάρ ἐμὲ ἔάσης πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα, ἐγώ σοι ἀναδέχομαι ἥξειν πολὺν Ἀράσπου πιστότερον φίλον· καὶ δύναμιν δὲ οὐδὲ ὅτι ὁπόσην ἀν δύνηται ἔχων παρέσται σοι. καὶ γάρ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ νῦν βασιλεύων καὶ ἐπεχείρησέ ποτε ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα διασπάσαι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ὑβριστὴν οὖν νομίζων αὐτὸν εὗ οὐδὲ ὅτι ἀσμενος ἀν πρὸς ἄνδρα οἶος σὺ εἰς ἀπαλλαγείη.

46. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα· ἡ δὲ ἐπεμψεῖν. ως δὲ ἔγνω ὁ Ἀβραδάτας τὰ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς σύμβολα, καὶ τἄλλα δὲ ἥσθετο ως εἰχεῖν, ἀσμενος πορεύεται πρὸς τὸν Κύρου ἵππους ἔχων ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους. ως δὲ ἡν πρὸς τοὺς τῶν Περσῶν σκοποῖς, πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Κύρου εἰπὼν δις ἡν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εὐθὺς ἄγειν κελεύει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν γυναικα. 47. ως δὲ εἰδέτην ἀλλήλους ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας, ἥσπαζοντο ἀλλήλους ως εἰκὸς ἐκ δυσελπίστων. ἐκ τούτου δὴ λέγει ἡ Πάνθεια τοῦ Κύρου τὴν ὄσιότητα καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν κατοίκτισιν.

‘Ο δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀκούσας εἶπε, Τί ἀν οὖν ἐγὼ ποιῶν, ὡς Πάνθεια, χάριν Κύρῳ ὑπέρ τε σοῦ καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀποδοίην;

Τί δὲ ἄλλο, ἔφη ἡ Πάνθεια, ἡ πειρώμενος ὅμοιος εἶναι περὶ ἐκεῖνον οἰόσπερ ἐκεῖνος περὶ σέ;

48. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κύρου ὁ Ἀβραδάτας· καὶ ως εἶδεν αὐτόν, λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς εἶπεν, ‘Ανθ’ ών σὺ εὗ πεποίηκας ἡμᾶς, ὡς Κῦρε, οὐκ ἔχω τί μεῖζον εἶπω ἡ ὅτι φίλοι σοι

distressed, Cyrus, that Araspas has gone over to the enemy; for if you will allow me to send to my husband, I can guarantee you that a much more faithful friend will come to you than Araspas was. And what is more, I know that he will come to you with as many troops as he can bring. For while the father of the present king was his friend, this present king once even attempted to separate me from my husband. Inasmuch, therefore, as he considers the king an insolent scoundrel, I am sure that he would be glad to transfer his allegiance to such a man as you."

46. When Cyrus heard that, he bade her send word to her husband; and she did so. And when Abradatas read the cipher message sent by his wife and was informed how matters stood otherwise, he joyfully proceeded with about a thousand horse to join Cyrus. When he came up to the Persian sentries, he sent to Cyrus to let him know who it was; and Cyrus gave orders to take him at once to his wife. 47. And when Abradatas and his wife saw each other they embraced each other with joy, as was natural, considering they had not expected ever to meet again. Thereafter Panthea told of Cyrus's piety and self-restraint and of his compassion for her.

"Tell me, Panthea," said Abradatas when he heard this, "what can I do to pay the debt of gratitude that you and I owe to Cyrus?"

"What else, pray," said Panthea, "than to try to be to him what he has been to you?"

48. Later Abradatas went to Cyrus. When he saw him he took his right hand in his and said: "In return for the kindnesses you have done us, Cyrus, I do not know what more to say than that I offer

Abradatas makes common cause with Cyrus

XENOPHON

έμαυτὸν δίδωμι καὶ θεράποντα καὶ σύμμαχον·
καὶ δσα ἀν ὄρῳ σε σπουδάζοντα, συνεργὸς πειρά-
σομαι γίγνεσθαι ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι κράτιστος.

49. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ δὲ δέχομαι καὶ
νῦν μέν σε ἀφίημι, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν·
αὐθις δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ δεήσει σε σκηνοῦν σὺν τοῖς
σοῖς τε καὶ ἐμοῖς φίλοις.

50. Ἐκ τούτου ὄρῶν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας σπουδά-
ζοντα τὸν Κῦρον περὶ τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρματα
καὶ περὶ τοὺς τεθωρακισμένους ἵππους τε καὶ
ἱππέας, ἐπειράτο συντελεῖν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ ἑκατὸν
ἄρματα ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ὅμοια ἐκείνοις.¹
αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἡγησόμενος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος
παρεσκευάζετο. 51. συνεζεύξατο δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
ἄρμα τετράρρυμόν τε καὶ ἵππων δκτώ. [ἢ δὲ
Πάνθεια ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς χρημάτων
χρυσοῦν τε αὐτῷ θώρακα ἐποιήσατο καὶ χρυσοῦν
κράνος, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περιβραχιόνια.]² τοὺς
δὲ ἵππους τοῦ ἄρματος χαλκοῖς πᾶσι προβλή-
μασι κατεσκευάστατο.

52. Ἀβραδάτας μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραττε· Κῦρος δὲ
ἰδὼν τὸ τετράρρυμον αὐτοῦ ἄρμα κατενόθησεν
ὅτι οἶόν τε εἴη καὶ δκτάρρυμον ποιήσασθαι,
ὦστε δκτὼ ζεύγεσι βοῶν ἄγειν τῶν μηχανῶν
τὸ κατωτάτω³ οἰκημα· ἦν δὲ τοῦτο τριώρυγον⁴

¹ ἐκείνοις Hug, Gemoll; ἐκείνῳ MSS., most Edd. (for τοῖς
ἐκείνοις).

² ἢ δὲ . . . περιβραχιόνια MSS., omitted by Bornemann
and Edd., as an obvious interpolation from VI. iv. 2.

³ κατωτάτω Buttmann, Edd.; κατώτατον MSS.; omitted by
Herwerden, Marchant.

⁴ τριώρυγον Dindorf, Edd.; τριοργυ(-ι) Dον γένεται; τὸ τριώρυγον
xAH.

myself to you to be your friend, your servant, your ally. And in whatsoever enterprise I see you engage, I shall try to co-operate with you to the very best of my ability."

49. "And I accept your offer," said Cyrus. "And now I will take leave of you and let you go to dinner with your wife. Some other time you will be expected to dine at my headquarters with your friends and mine."

50. After this, as Abradatas observed that Cyrus was busily engaged with the scythe-bearing chariots and the mailed horses and riders, he tried to contribute from his own cavalry as many as a hundred chariots like them ; and he made ready to lead them in person upon his chariot. 51. He had the harnessing of his own chariot, moreover, arranged with four poles and eight horses abreast ; [and his wife, Panthea, with her own money had a golden corselet made for him and a helmet and armlet of gold ;] and he had the horses of his chariot equipped with armour of solid bronze.

52. Such was the work of Abradatas ; and when Cyrus saw his chariot with four poles, he conceived the idea that it was possible to make one even with eight poles, so as to move with eight yoke of oxen the lowest story of his movable towers ; including the wheels, this portion was about three fathoms

XENOPHON

μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σὺν τοῖς τροχοῖς. 53. τοιοῦτοι δὲ πύργοι σὺν τάξει ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ μεγάλη μὲν ἐπικουρία γενέσθαι τῇ ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγι, μεγάλη δὲ βλάβη τῇ τῶν πολεμίων τάξει. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων καὶ περιδρόμους καὶ ἐπάλξεις ἀνεβίβαζε δ' ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἔκαστον ἄνδρας εἴκοσιν.

54. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα συνειστήκει αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τοὺς πύργους, ἐλάμβανε τοῦ ἀγωγίου πεῖραν· καὶ πολὺ ρᾶσιν ἦγε τὰ δόκτῳ ζεύγη τὸν πύργον καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄνδρας ἢ τὸ σκευοφορικὸν βάρος ἔκαστον τὸ ζεύγος. σκευῶν μὲν γὰρ βάρος ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τάλαντα ἦν ζεύγει· τοῦ δὲ πύργου, ὡσπερ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς τῶν ξύλων πάχος ἔχόντων, καὶ εἴκοσιν ἄνδρῶν καὶ ὅπλων, τουτων.¹ ἐγένετο ἀλαττον ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα ἔκαστῳ ζεύγει τὸ ἀγώγιον.

55. Ως δ' ἔγνω εὔπορον οὖσαν τὴν ἀγωγήν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἄξων τοὺς πύργους σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι, νομίζων τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ πλεονεξίᾳν ἄμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἶναι καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν.

II

1. Ἡλθον δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ ἀπήγγελλον αὐτῷ ὅτι ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἐπιστέλλει τοιάδε· Ἔγώ, ὡς Κύρε, ἥδομαι ὅτι μοι ἐπήγγειλας ὃν ἐδέου, καὶ βούλομαι σοι ξένος εἶναι καὶ πέμπω σοι χρήματα·

¹ τούτων Hutchinson, Edd.; *hacum turrium Philephus*; τούτοις MSS.

high from the ground. 53. Moreover, when such towers were taken along with each division of the army, it seemed to him that they were a great help to his own phalanx and would occasion great loss to the ranks of the enemy. And on the different stories he constructed galleries also and battlements ; and on each tower he stationed twenty men.

54. Now when all the appurtenances of his towers were put together, he made an experiment of their draught ; and the eight yoke of oxen drew the tower with the men upon it more easily than each individual yoke could draw its *usual* load of baggage ; for the load of baggage was about twenty-five talents¹ to the yoke ; whereas the weight of the tower, on which the timbers were as thick as those of the tragic stage, together with the twenty men and their arms amounted to less than fifteen talents to each yoke of oxen.

55. Inasmuch, therefore, as he found that the hauling of the towers was easy, he made ready to take them with the army, for he thought that seizing an advantage in time of war was at once safety and justice and happiness.

II

1. At this juncture, representatives from the Indian king arrived with money ; they announced also that the Indian king sent him the following message : " I am glad, Cyrus, that you let me know what you needed. I desire to be your friend, and I

Envoy
from India
are sent as
spies

¹ That is, about 1400 pounds ; the Attic talent is equivalent to 55*½* pounds avoirdupois.

κάν αλλων δέη, μεταμέμπου. ἐπέσταλται δὲ τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ ποιεῦν ὅ τι ἀν σὺ κελεύῃς.

2. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε, Κελεύω τοίνυν ὑμᾶς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μένοντας ἔνθα κατεσκηνώκατε φυλάττειν τὰ χρήματα καὶ ζῆν ὅπως ὑμῖν ἥδιστον· τρεῖς δέ μοι ἐλθόντες ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ώς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ περὶ συμμαχίας, καὶ τάκεī μαθόντες ὅ τι ἀν λέγωσί τε καὶ ποιῶσιν, ώς τάχιστα ἀπαγγείλατε ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ· κάν ταῦτά μοι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσητε, ἵτι μᾶλλον ὑμῖν χάριν εἴσομαι τούτου ἢ ὅτι χρήματα πάρεστε ἄγοντες. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν δούλοις ἐοικότες κατάσκοποι οὐδὲν ἄλλο δύνανται εἰδότες ἀπαγγέλλειν ἢ ὅσα πάντες ἵσυσιν· οἱ δὲ οἰοίπερ ὑμεῖς ἄνδρες πολλάκις καὶ τὰ βουλευόμενα καταμανθάνουσιν.

3. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἰνδοὶ ἡδέως ἀκούσαντες καὶ ξενισθέντες τότε παρὰ Κύρῳ, συσκευασάμενοι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποσχόμενοι ἢ μὴν μαθόντες ὅσα ἀν δύνωνται πλεῖστα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἥξειν ώς δυνατὸν τάχιστα.

4. Ο δὲ Κῦρος τά τε ἄλλα εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο μεγαλοπρεπώς, ώς δὴ ἀνὴρ οὐδὲν μικρὸν ἐπινοῶν πράττειν, ἐπεμέλετο δὲ οὐ μόνον ὃν ἔδοξε τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕριν ἐνέβαλλε· πρὸς ἄλλιγλους τοῖς φίλοις ὅπως αὐτοὶ ἔκαστοι φανοῦνται καὶ εὐοπλότατοι καὶ ἴππικώτατοι καὶ ἀκοντιστικώτατοι καὶ τοξικώτατοι καὶ φιλοπονώ-

am sending you the money, and if you need more, send for it. Moreover, my representatives have been instructed to do whatever you ask."

2. "Well then," said Cyrus, when he heard this, "I ask some of you to remain where you have been assigned quarters and keep guard of this money and live as best pleases you, while three of you will please go to the enemy on pretence of having been sent by the king of India to make an alliance between them and him; and when you have learned how things stand there, what they are doing and proposing to do, bring word of it as soon as possible to me and to your king. And if you perform this service acceptably, I shall be even more grateful to you for that than I am for your bringing the money with which you have come. And this is service which you are eminently fitted to perform; for spies disguised as slaves can give information of nothing more in their reports than what every one knows; whereas men in your capacity often discover even what is being planned."

3. The Indians were naturally pleased to hear this, and when they had been entertained by Cyrus, they made ready and set out on the following day with the solemn promise that when they had learned as much as they could they would return from the enemy's side with all possible dispatch.

4. The rest of his preparations for war Cyrus now further continued on a magnificent scale, for he was planning ^{preparations for} the conflict no mean enterprise; and he provided not only for that which his allies had agreed upon but he also inspired his friends to rivalry among themselves, in order that each complement might strive to show its men the best armed soldiers, the most skilled horsemen, the best marksmen with spear or bow, and the

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τατοι. 5. ταῦτα δὲ ἔξειργάζετο ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας
ἔξάγων καὶ τιμῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἔκαστα· καὶ
τοὺς ἄρχοντας δὲ οὓς ἔώρα ἐπιμελομένους τούτου
ὅπως οἱ αὐτῶν¹ κράτιστοι ἔσονται στρατιῶται,
καὶ τούτους ἐπαινῶν τε παρώξυνε καὶ χαριζόμενος
αὐτοῖς ὅ τι δύναιτο. 6. εἰ δέ ποτε θυσίαν ποιοῦτο
καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγοι, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ὅσα πολέμου ἔνεκα
μελετῶσιν ἄνθρωποι πάντων τούτων ἀγῶνας
ἐποίει καὶ ἀθλα τοῖς νικῶσι μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐδίδου,
καὶ ἦν πολλὴ εὐθυμία ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.

7. Τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ σχεδόν τι ἡδη ἀποτετελεσμένα
ἥν ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἔχων στρατεύεσθαι πλὴν τῶν
μηχανῶν. καὶ γάρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἵππεῖς ἔκπλεω ἡδη
ἥσαν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα τὰ δρε-
πανηφόρα, ἃ τε αὐτὸς κατεσκεύαζεν, ἔκπλεω ἡδη
ἥν εἰς τὰ ἑκατόν, ἃ τε Ἀβραδάτας ὁ Σούσιος
ἐπεχείρησε κατασκευάζειν δμοια τοῖς Κύρου, καὶ
ταῦτα ἔκπλεω ἥν εἰς ἄλλα ἑκατόν. 8. καὶ τὰ
Μηδικὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἐπεπείκει Κύρος Κυαξάρην εἰς
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῦτον μετασκευάσαι ἐκ τῆς
Τρωικῆς καὶ Λιβυκῆς διφρείας· καὶ ἔκπλεω καὶ
ταῦτα ἥν εἰς ἄλλα ἑκατόν. καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς καμήλους
δὲ τεταγμένοι ἥσαν ἄνδρες δύο ἐφ' ἔκάστην τοξό-
ται. καὶ ὁ μὲν πλεῦστος στρατὸς οὕτως εἶχε τὴν
γνώμην ὡς ἡδη παντελῶς κεκρατηκὼς καὶ οὐδὲν
δύτα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτω διακειμένων ἥλθον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἐκ
τῶν πολεμίων οὓς ἐπεπόμφει Κύρος ἐπὶ κατασκο-
πήν, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Κροῖσος μὲν ἡγεμὼν καὶ

¹ αὐτῶν Stephanus, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; αὐτῶν Dindorf (who ascribes his reading to Stephanus), Breitenbach; αὐτοὶ xx; αὐτοῦ yG².

most industrious workers. 5. And, as a means of accomplishing this, he took them out to hunt and rewarded those who were in each particular most efficient. Furthermore, those officers who, he saw, were eager to have their own soldiers most efficient he spurred on with praise and with whatever favours he could bestow. 6. And then, too, whenever he performed a sacrifice or celebrated a festival, he instituted in connection with it contests in all those events in which people train as a discipline for war, and to the victors he offered splendid prizes; and the whole camp was in the best of spirits.

7. Cyrus now had almost everything ready that he wished to have for his expedition except the engines of war. For the ranks of his Persian horse were now filled up to the number of ten thousand, the scythe-bearing chariots that he himself had had constructed had now reached the full number of one hundred, and those which Abradatas of Susa had undertaken to secure like those of Cyrus had also reached the full number of one hundred more. 8. And Cyrus had persuaded Cyaxares to transform the Median chariots also from the Trojan and Libyan type to this same style, and these amounted to another full hundred. For the camel corps, bowmen were detailed, two upon each camel. Thus the rank and file of the army generally cherished the feeling that the victory was already perfectly assured and that the enemy's side was as nothing.

9. While they were in this state of mind, the Indians that Cyrus had sent as spies to the enemy's camp returned with the report that Croesus had

The report
of the
Indian spies

στρατηγὸς πάντων ἡρημένος εἴη τῶν πολεμίων, δεδογμένον δ' εἴη πᾶσι τοῖς συμμάχοις βασιλεῦσι πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει ἔκαστον παρεῖναι, χρήματα δὲ εἰσφέρειν πάμπολλα, ταῦτα δὲ τελεῖν καὶ μισθουμένους οὓς δύναιντο καὶ δωρουμένους οἷς δέοι, 10. ἥδη δὲ καὶ μεμισθωμένους εἶναι πολλοὺς μὲν Θρακῶν μαχαιροφόρους, Αἰγυπτίους δὲ προσπλεῖν, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἔλεγον εἰς δώδεκα μυριάδας σὸν ἀσπίσι ποδήρεσι καὶ δόρασι μεγάλοις, οἴλαπερ καὶ νῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ κοπίσι· προσέτι δὲ καὶ Κυπρίων στράτευμα· παρεῖναι δ' ἥδη Κίλικας πάντας καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Λυκάονας καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ Καππαδόκας καὶ Ἀραβίους καὶ Φοίνικας καὶ σὸν τῷ Βαβυλῶνος ἄρχοντι τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ Ἰωνας δὲ καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐποικοῦντας σὸν Κροίσῳ ἡναγκάσθαι ἔπεσθαι, πεπομφέναι δὲ Κροῖσον καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ συμμαχίας· 11. συλλέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀμφὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν, προΐέναι δὲ μέλλειν αὐτοὺς εἰς Θύμβραρα, ἐνθα καὶ νῦν ὁ σύλλογος τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέα βαρβάρων τῶν κάτω [Συρίας],¹ καὶ ἀγορὰν πᾶσι παρηγγέλθαι ἐνταῦθα κομίζειν.

Σχεδὸν δὲ τούτοις ταῦτα ἔλεγον καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἐπεμέλετο γὰρ καὶ τούτου ὁ Κύρος δπως ἀλίσκοιντο παρ' ὧν ἔμελλε πεύσεσθαι τι· ἐπεμπε δὲ καὶ δούλοις ἐοικότας κατασκόπους ώς αὐτομόλους.

¹ Συρίας MSS., Vindorf; [Συρίας] Lincke, most Edd.

been chosen field-marshall and commander-in-chief of all the enemy's hosts, that all the allied kings had decided to join him with their entire forces, to contribute vast sums of money, and to expend them in hiring what soldiers they could and in giving presents to those whom they were under obligations to reward. 10. They reported also that many Thracian swordsmen had already been hired and that Egyptians were under sail to join them, and they gave the number as one hundred and twenty thousand men armed with shields that came to their feet, with huge spears, such as they carry even to this day, and with sabres. Besides these, there was also the Cyprian army. The Cilicians were all present already, they said, as were also the contingents from both Phrygias, Lycaonia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Arabia, and Phoenicia; the Assyrians were there under the king of Babylon; the Ionians also and the Aeolians and almost all the Greek colonists in Asia had been compelled to join Croesus, and Croesus had even sent to Lacedaemon to negotiate an alliance. 11. This army, they said, was being mustered at the River Pactolus, but it was their intention to advance to Thymbrara, where even to-day is the rendezvous of the king's barbarians from the interior. And a general call had been issued to bring provisions to market there.

The prisoners also told practically the same story as the Indian spies; for this was another thing that Cyrus always looked out for—that prisoners should be taken, from whom he was likely to gain some intelligence. And he used also to send out spies disguised as slaves to pretend that they were deserters from him.

12. Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἥκουσεν ὁ στρατὸς τοῦ Κύρου, ἐν φροντίδι τε ἐγένετο, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἡσυχαίτεροί τε ἡ ὡς εἰώθεσαν διεφοίτων, [φαιδροί τε οὐ πάνυ ἐφαίνοντο,]¹ ἐκυκλοῦντό τε καὶ μεστὰ ἦν πάντα ἀλλήλους ἐρωτώντων περὶ τούτων καὶ διαλεγομένων.

13. Ὡς δὲ ἥσθετο ὁ Κύρος φόβον διαθέοντα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, συγκαλεῖ τούς τε ἄρχοντας τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ πάντας ὅπόσων ἀθυμούντων ἐδόκει βλάβη τις γίγνεσθαι καὶ προθυμουμένων ὠφέλεια. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, καὶ ἄλλος εἴ τις βούλοιτο τῶν ὄπλοφόρων προσίστασθαι² ἀκουσόμενος τῶν λόγων, μὴ κωλυειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

14. Ἀνδρες σύμμαχοι, ἐγὼ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς συνεκάλεσα ἵδων τινας ὑμῶν, ἐπεὶ αἱ ἀγγελίαι ἥλθον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, πάνυ ἐοικότας πεφοβημένοις ἀνθρώποις. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι θαυμαστὸν εἶναι εἴ τις ὑμῶν ὅτι μὲν οἱ πολέμοι συλλέγονται δέδοικεν, ὅτι δὲ ἡμεῖς πολὺ πλείους συνειλέγμεθα νῦν ἡ δτε ἐνικῶμεν ἐκείνους, πολὺ δὲ ἀμεινον σὺν θεοῖς παρεσκευάσμεθα νῦν ἡ πρόσθεν, ταῦτα δὲ ὄρωντες οὐ θαρρεῖτε.

15. Ὡ πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφη, τί δῆτα ἀν ἐποιήσατε οἱ νῦν δεδοικότες, εἰ ἡγγελλόν τινες τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν νῦν δύντα ταῦτα ἀντίπαλα ἡμῖν προσιόντα, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἡκούετε, ἔφη, δτι οἱ πρότερον νικήσαντες ἡμᾶς οὗτοι πάλιν ἔρχονται ἔχοντες ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἦν τότε νίκην ἐκτήσαντο· ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ

¹ φαιδροί . . . ἐφαίνετο MSS., Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Hartmann.

² προσίστασθαι Stephanus, Edd.; προστασθαι MSS.

12. When Cyrus's army heard this report, they were disturbed, as was natural; they went about more subdued than had been their wont, they gathered in groups, and every corner was full of people discussing the situation and asking one another's opinion.

13. When Cyrus perceived that a panic was spreading through his army, he called together the officers of the different divisions and all others whose despondency he thought might cause injury and whose enthusiasm would be a help. And he sent word to his aides-de-camp that if any one else of the armed soldiers wished to attend the meeting and listen to the speeches, they should not hinder him. And when they had come together, he addressed them as follows:

14. "Friends and allies, I have called you together because I observed that when this news came from the enemy, some of you looked as if you were frightened. Now it seems strange to me that any of you should really be afraid because the enemy are mustering; but when you see that we are mustered in much larger numbers than we had when we defeated them and that we are now, thank heaven, much better equipped than we were then—it is strange that when you see this you are not filled with courage!"

15. "What in the name of heaven, pray, would you who are now afraid have done, if the situation were reversed and some one told you that these forces that we have now were coming against us? And what, if you heard, in the first place, that those who had defeated us before were coming again, their hearts full of the victory they then gained; and, in

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τότε ἐκκόψαντες τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν· οὐς
ἀκροβολίσεις νῦν οὗτοι ἔρχονται καὶ ἄλλοι ὅμι οἱ
τούτοις πολλαπλάσιοι. 16. ἔπειτα δὲ ὡσ· ερ
οῦτοι ὑπλισάμενοι τοὺς πεζοὺς τότ' ἐνίκων, ἦν
οὕτῳ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς αὐτῷ παρεσκευασμένοι π ὃς
τοὺς ἵππεας προσέρχονται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τόξα καὶ
ἀκόντια ἀποδεδοκιμάκασι, παλτὸν δὲ ἐν ἴσχυν ἦν
ἔκαστος λαβὼν προσελαύνειν διανευόηται ὡς ἵκ
χειρὸς τὴν μάχην ποιησόμενος. 17. ἔτι δὲ ἄρματα
ἔρχεται, ἢ οὐχ οὕτως ἐστήξει¹ ὥσπερ πρόστις εν
ἀπεστραμμένα ὥσπερ εἰς φυγὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ τε Ἰπ· οἱ
εἰσὶ κατατεθωρακισμένοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἄρμασιν, οὐ τε
ἥνιοχοι ἐν πύργοις ἐστᾶσι ξυλίνοις τὰ ὑπερέχοι
ἄπαντα συνεστεγασμένοι θώραξι καὶ κράνει,
δρέπανά τε σιδηρᾶ περὶ τοῦς ἄξοις προσήρμοστι,
ὡς ἐλῶντες καὶ οὗτοι εὐθὺς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τὸν
ἐναντίων. 18. πρὸς δ' ἔτι κάμηλοι εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ
ῶν προσελῶσιν, ὃν μίαν ἐκάστην ἑκατὸν ἵπι
οὐκ ἀν ἀνάσχοιντο ἰδόντες· ἔτι δὲ πύργους πρὶς
ίασιν ἔχοντες ἀφ' ὃν τοῖς μὲν ἑαυτῶν ἀρήξουσι,
ἥμας δὲ βάλλοντες κωλύσουσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἡ-
πέδῳ μάχεσθαι. 19. εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλέ
ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅντα, οἱ νῦν φοβούμε-
τι ἀν ἐποιήσατε; ὅπότε ἀπαγγελλομένων ὃν
ὅτι Κροῖσος μὲν ἥρηται τῶν πολεμίων στρα-
γός, δις τοσούτῳ Σύρων κακίων ἐγένετο ὃς
Σύροι μὲν μάχῃ ἡττηθέντες ἔφυγον, Κροῖσος
ἴδων Σύρους² ἡττημένους ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρήγειν τὸν

¹ ἐστήξει Elmsley, most Edd.; ἐστήξεται MSS., Saup 3, Breitenbach.

² Σύρους Hug; not in MSS. or other Edd.

the second place, that those who before made short work of the skirmishing lines of bowmen and spear-men were now coming and others like them many times their number; 16. and, in the third place, that, equipped in the same armour in which they were armed when their infantry defeated our infantry, they have cavalry now coming to meet our cavalry; that they have rejected the bow and the javelin, and that each man has adopted one heavy lance and is resolved to ride up and fight hand to hand? 17. And again, what would you have done, if you heard that chariots are coming which are not, as before, to stand still facing back as if for flight, but that the horses harnessed to the chariots are covered with mail, while the drivers stand in wooden towers and the parts of their body not defended by the towers are completely panoplied in breast-plates and helmets; and that scythes of steel have been fitted to the axles, and that it is the intention to drive these also into the ranks of the enemy? 18. Or again, if you heard that they have camels on which they will ride up to us, and a hundred horses could not endure the sight of any one of them? And again, that they are coming with towers, from which they will protect their comrades and by throwing missiles hinder us from fighting in a fair field? 19. If any one reported to you that this was the condition of things among the enemy, what would you, who are now so frightened, have done, seeing that you were terrified when the report came that Croesus had been elected commander-in-chief of the enemy—
 Croesus, who was a worse coward than the Syrians; for the Syrians fled because they were defeated in the battle, whereas Croesus, instead of standing by his allies, beat a hasty retreat when he saw that they

and fills
them with
new
enthusiasm

συμμάχοις φεύγων φέχετο· 20. ἔπειτα δὲ διαγγέλλεται δῆπου ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι οὐχ ἴκανοὶ ἥγοῦνται ὑμῶν εἶναι μάχεσθαι, ἄλλους δὲ μισθοῦνται, ὡς ἄμεινον μαχουμένους ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἦ αὐτοί. εἰ μέντοι τισὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦτα ὅντα δεινὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα φαῦλα, τούτους ἐγώ φημι χρῆναι, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἀφεῖναι εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους· πολὺ γάρ ἐκεῖ ὅντες πλείω ἀν ἡμᾶς ἦ παρόντες ὀφελοῖεν.

21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀνέστη Χρυσάντας ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἔλεξεν ὡδε· Ὡ Κῦρε, μὴ θαύμαζε εἴ τινες ἐσκυθρώπασαν ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἀγγελλομένων οὐ γάρ φοβηθέντες οὕτω διετέθησαν, ἀλλ’ ἀχθεσθέντες ὥσπερ γε, ἔφη, εἴ τινων βουλομένων τε καὶ οἰομένων ἥδη ἀριστήσειν ἔξαγγελθείη τι ἔργον ὃ ἀνάγκη εἴη πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἔξεργασασθαι, οὐδεὶς ἀν οἷμαι ἥσθείη ἀκούσας· οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἥδη οἴόμενοι πλουτήσειν, ἐπεὶ ἡκούσαμεν ὅτι ἐστὶ περίλοιπον ἔργον ὃ δεῖ ἔξεργασασθαι, συνεσκυθρωπάσαμεν, οὐ φοβούμενοι, ἀλλὰ πεποιῆσθαι ἀν ἥδη καὶ τοῦτο βουλόμενοι.

22. Ἀλλὰ γάρ ἐπειδὴ οὐ περὶ Συρίας μόνον ἀγωνιούμεθα, ὅπου σῆτος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατά ἐστι καὶ φοίνικες οἱ καρποφόροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ Λυδίας, ἔνθα πολὺς μὲν οἶνος, πολλὰ δὲ σῦκα, πολὺ δὲ ἔλαιον, θάλαττα δὲ προσκλύζει καθ’ ἣν πλείω ἔρχεται ἢ ὅσα τις ἔώρακεν ἀγαθόν, ταῦτα,

were defeated? 20. And finally, you see, the report is brought that the enemy do not feel that they are strong enough to fight us by themselves, but are hiring others in the hope that these will fight for them more valiantly than they can for themselves. However, if there are any to whom the situation over there—such as it is—seems formidable, while our own condition seems contemptible, I say, men, that we ought to send them over to the enemy, for they would be much more useful to us over there than in our ranks."

21. When Cyrus had finished his speech, Chrysantas, the Persian, arose and spoke as follows: "Do not wonder, Cyrus, that some looked disconsolate when they heard the report; for it was not from fear that they felt this, but from vexation—just as, if it should be announced, when people are ready and waiting to sit down to luncheon, that there is some work that they must do before they may eat, not one, I venture to say, would be pleased to hear it. So we also, thinking we were just on the point of getting rich, all put on a disconsolate look when we heard that there was some work left over which we must do; and it was not because we were frightened, but because we wished that this, too, were already accomplished.

22. "But our disappointment is past, seeing that we are to contend not for Syria only, where there is an abundance of grain and flocks and date-palms, but for Lydia as well; for in that land there is an abundance of wine and figs and olive oil, and its shores are washed by the sea; and over its waters more good things are brought than any one has ever seen—when we think of that," said he, "we are no

Chrysantas
explains
away the
apparent
fear

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ἔφη, ἐννοούμενοι οὐκέτι ἀχθόμεθα, ἀλλὰ θαρροῦμεν ὡς μάλιστα,¹ ἵνα θᾶττον καὶ τούτων τῶν Δυδίων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύωμεν.

Ο μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι πάντες ἡσθησάν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐπήνεσαν.

23. Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὡς ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ μοι ιέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς φθάσωμεν ἀφικόμενοι, ἣν δυνώμεθα, ὅπου τάπιτήδεια αὐτοῖς συλλέγεται· ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσῳ ἀν θᾶττον ἵωμεν, τοσούτῳ μείω μὲν τὰ παρόντα, εὑρήσομεν αὐτοῖς, πλείω δὲ τὰ ἀπόντα. 24. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγω· εἰ δέ τις ἀλλῃ πῃ γυγνώσκει ἢ ἀσφαλέστερον εἴναι ἡ ῥᾶσιν ἡμῖν, διδασκέτω.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνηγόρευον μὲν πολλοὶ ὡς χρεῶν εἴη δτι τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀντέλεγε δὲ οὐδείς, ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κῦρος ἤρχετο λόγου τοιοῦδε·

25. "Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, αἱ μὲν ψυχαὶ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα οἵς δεήσει χρῆσθαι ἐκ πολλοῦ ἡμῖν σὺν θεῷ παρεσκεύασται· νῦν δὲ τάπιτήδεια δεῖ εἰς τὴν ὄδὸν συσκευάζεσθαι αὐτοῖς τε ἡμῖν καὶ ὅπόσοις τετράποσι χρώμεθα μὴ μεῖνον ἢ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν. ἐγὼ γάρ λογιζόμενος εὐρίσκω πλέον² ἢ πεντεκαΐδεκα ἡμερῶν ἐσομένην ὄδόν, ἐν ἢ οὐδὲν εὑρήσομεν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ἀνεσκεύασται γάρ τὰ μὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὅσα ἐδύναντο. 26. συσκευάζεσθαι οὖν χρὴ σῖτον μὲν ἴκανόν· ἀνευ γάρ τούτου οὕτε μάχεσθαι οὕτε ζῆν δυναίμεθ" ἀν οἶνον δὲ τοσοῦτον ἔκαστον ἔχειν

¹ μάλιστα Dindorf, Edd. ; τάχιστα MSS.

² πλέον Dindorf⁴, Marchant, Gemoll; πλεόνων F, Dindorf³, Breitenbach; πλέον δν DG².

longer vexed, but our courage rises to the highest point, with desire to come all the more quickly into the enjoyment of these good things in Lydia also."

Thus he spoke; and the allies were all pleased with his speech and applauded.

23. "And indeed, my friends," said Cyrus, "I propose that we move against them as soon as possible, in the first place that we may reach the place where their supplies are being collected, before they do, if we can; and in the second place, because the faster we march the less perfected we shall find their arrangements and the greater we shall find their deficiencies. 24. This, then, is my proposal; but if any one thinks that any other course would be safer or easier for us, let him inform us."

Cyrus proposes an immediate advance

Many supported him, saying that it was expedient to proceed as soon as possible against the enemy, and no one opposed his plan; so Cyrus began to speak as follows:

25. "Friends and allies, our souls and bodies and the arms that we shall have to use have, with God's help, long since been made ready. And now for the march we must get together for ourselves and for the animals that we use provisions for not less than twenty days; for in reckoning it up, I find that there will be more than fifteen days' journey in which we shall find no provisions at all; for everything there has been made away with: the enemy took all that they could, and we have taken the rest. 26. Accordingly, we must put up and carry with us food enough; for without this we should be unable either to fight or to live. As for wine, each one ought to take along only enough to last till

χρή ὅσος ἵκανὸς ἔσται ἐθίσαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑδροποτεῖν· πολλὴ γὰρ ἔσται τῆς ὄδοῦ ἄοινος, εἰς ἣν οὐδὲ ἀν πάνυ πολὺν οἶνον συσκευαστώμεθα, διαρκέσει. 27. ως οὖν μὴ ἔξαπίνης ἄοινοι γενόμενοι νοσήμασι περιπίπτωμεν, ὥδε χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ σίτῳ νῦν εὐθὺς ἀρχώμεθα πίνειν ὑδωρ· τούτῳ γὰρ ἥδη ποιοῦντες οὐ πολὺ μεταβαλοῦμεν. 28. καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἀλφιτοσιτεῖ, ὕδατι μεμαγμένην¹ ἀεὶ τὴν μᾶζαν ἔσθιει, καὶ ὅστις ἀρτοσιτεῖ, ὕδατι δεδεμένου τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ τὰ ἐφθὰ δὲ πάντα μεθ' ὕδατος τοῦ πλείστου ἐσκεύασται. μετὰ δὲ τὸν σῖτον ἀν οἶνον ἐπιπίνωμεν, οὐδὲν μεῖνον ἔχουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἀναπαύσεται. 29. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ μετὰ δεῖπνου ἀφαιρεῖν χρή, ἔως ἀν λάθωμεν ὑδροπόται γενόμενοι. ἡ γὰρ κατὰ μικρὸν παράλλαξις πᾶσαν ποιεῖ φύσιν ὑποφέρειν τὰς μεταβολάς· διδάσκει δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς, ἀπάγων ἡμᾶς κατὰ μικρὸν ἔκ τε τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι ἴσχυρὰ θάλπη ἔκ τε τοῦ θάλπους εἰς τὸν ἴσχυρὸν χειμῶνα· ὃν χρὴ μιμούμενους εἰς ὃ δεῖ ἐλθεῖν προειθισμένους ἡμᾶς ἀφικνεῖσθαι.

30. Καὶ τὸ τῶν στρωμάτων δὲ βάρος εἰς τὰ πιτήδεια καταδαπανάτε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια περιπτέεοντα οὐκ ἄχρηστα ἔσται· στρωμάτων δὲ ἐνδειθέντες μὴ δείσητε ὡς οὐχ ἥδεως καθευδήσετε· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθε. ἔσθης μέντοι ὅτῳ ἔστιν ἀφθονωτέρα παροῦσα, πολλὰ καὶ ὑγιαίνοντι καὶ κάμινοντι ἐπικουρεῖ.

¹ μεμαγμένην Hemsterhuys, Dindorf⁴, Marchant, Gemoll; μεμιγμένην MSS., Dindorf³, Breitenbach.

we accustom ourselves to drinking water; for the greater part of the march will be through a country where there is no wine, and for that all the wine we can carry will not suffice, even if we take along a very great quantity. 27. That we may not, therefore, fall a prey to sickness when we suddenly find ourselves deprived of wine, we must take this course: let us now begin at once to drink water at our meals, for by so doing we shall not greatly change our manner of living. 28. For whoever eats barley bread always eats meal that has been kneaded up with water, and whoever eats wheaten bread eats of a loaf that was mixed with water; and everything boiled is prepared with water in very liberal quantities. So, if after the meal we drink some wine, our soul will lack nothing and find refreshment. 29. But later on we must also gradually diminish the amount taken after dinner, until unconsciously we have become teetotalers. For gradual transition helps any nature to bear changes. Why, God teaches us that, by leading us gradually from winter to endure the burning heat of summer, and from the heat of summer to the rigours of winter; and we should imitate Him and reach the end we would attain by accustoming ourselves beforehand.

30. "For your heavy blankets you may substitute an equal weight of provisions; for excess of provisions will not be useless. And do not be afraid that you will not sleep soundly for want of your blankets; if you do not, I will take the blame. However, if any one has a generous supply of clothing with him, that will be of good service to him whether he be well or ill.

The wine
habit to be
broken off
gradually

General
directions
for equip-
ment

31. Ὁψα δὲ χρὴ συνεσκευάσθαι ὅσα ἔστιν ὀξέα
καὶ δριμέα καὶ ἀλμυρά· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ σῖτόν τε
ἄγει καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄρκεῖ. ὅταν δὲ ἐκβαίνωμεν
εἰς ἀκέραια, ὅπου ἡδη εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς σῖτον λαμβάνειν,
χειρομύλας χρὴ αὐτόθεν παρασκευάσασθαι αἵτινες
σιτοποιησόμεθα· τοῦτο γὰρ κουφότατον τῶν
σιτοποικῶν ὄργανων.

32. Συνεσκευάσθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὧν ἀσθενοῦντες
δέονται ἀνθρώποι· τούτων γὰρ ὁ μὲν ὅγκος μι-
κρότατος, ἦν δὲ τύχη τοιαύτη γένηται, μάλιστα
δεήσει.

"Ἐχειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἴμάντας· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα καὶ
ἀνθρώποις καὶ Ἰπποῖς ἴμασιν ἥρτηται· ὧν κατα-
τριβομένων καὶ ῥηγνυμένων ἀνάγκη ἀργεῖν, ἦν μή
τις ἔχῃ περίζυγα.

"Οστις δὲ πεπαιδευται καὶ παλτὸν ξύσασθαι,
ἀγαθὸν καὶ ξυήλης μὴ ἐπιλαθέσθαι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ
καὶ ῥίνην φέρευσθαι· 33. ὁ γὰρ λόγχην ἀκονῶν
ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τι παρακονᾷ· ἐπεστι γάρ
τις αἰσχύνη λόγχην ἀκονῶντα κακὸν εἶναι.

"Ἐχειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ξύλα περίπλεω¹ καὶ ἄρμασι
καὶ ἀμάξαις· ἐν γὰρ πολλαῖς πράξεσι πολλὰ
ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ ἀπαγορεύοντα εἶναι. ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ
καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα ὄργανα ἐπὶ ταῦτα πάντα·
34. οὐ γὰρ πανταχοῦ χειροτέχναι παραγίγνονται·
τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἄρκεσον ὀλίγοι τινὲς οὐχ
ἴκανοι ποιῆσαι. ἔχειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἄμην καὶ
σμινύην καθ' ἀμάξαν ἐκάστην, καὶ κατὰ τὸν
νωτοφόρον δὲ ἀξίνην καὶ δρέπανον· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ

¹ περίπλεω Dindorf⁴, Marchant, Gemoll; περίπλεα MSS., Dindorf⁵, Breitenbach.

31. "For meats, we must pack up and take along only such as are sharp, pungent, salty ; for these not only stimulate the appetite but also afford the most lasting nourishment. And when we come out into a country that has not been plundered, where we are at once likely to find grain again, we must then have hand-mills ready made with which to prepare food, for these are the lightest of the implements used in making bread.

32. "Again, we must take with us the things that sick people need ; for the weight they add is very small and, if we have a case of sickness, they will be very necessary.

"We must also have plenty of straps ; for nearly everything that men and horses have is fastened on with straps, and when these wear out or break, everything must come to a standstill, unless one has some extra ones.

"And it will be a good thing for the man who has been taught how to smooth down a spear-shaft not to forget a rasp ; and it will be well to bring along a file too ; 33. for he that whets his spear whets his courage, in a way, at the same time ; for a man must be overcome with shame to be whetting his spear and yet feel himself a coward.

"We must also have a good supply of lumber for the chariots and the wagons, for from constant use many parts necessarily become defective. We must have also the most indispensable tools for all these purposes ; 34. for we shall not find mechanics everywhere, and almost any one can make what will serve for a day. Besides these, we must have a shovel and mattock for every wagon, and for each pack-animal an axe and a sickle ; for these are useful to each one

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ιδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ χρήσιμα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολλάκις ὠφέλιμα γίγνεται.

35. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς τροφὴν δέοντα οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ὄπλοφόρων ἔξετάζετε τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γάρ δεῖ παριέναι ὅτου ἀντιτι τούτων ἐνδέηται· ἥμεις γάρ τούτων ἐνδεεῖς ἐσόμεθα. ἂ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ὑποζύγια κελεύω ἔχειν, ὑμεῖς οἱ τῶν σκευοφόρων ἄρχοντες ἔξετάζετε, καὶ τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα κατασκευάζεσθαι ἀναγκάζετε.

36. Ὄμοιος δ' αὐτὸς οἱ τῶν ὁδοποιῶν ἄρχοντες ἔχετε μὲν ἀπογεγραμμένους παρ' ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἀποδεδοκιμασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν σφενδονητῶν· τούτων δὲ χρὴ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν πέλεκυν ἔχοντας ξυλοκόπον ἀναγκάζειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τοξοτῶν σμιγύην, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σφενδονητῶν ἄμην· τούτους δὲ ἔχοντας ταῦτα πρὸ τῶν ἀμαξῶν κατ' Ἰλας πορεύεσθαι, ὅπως ἦν τι δέῃ ὁδοποιίας, εὐθὺς ἐνεργοὶ ἦτε, καὶ ἐγὼ ἦν τι δέωμαι, ὅπως εἰδῶ δόθεν δεῖ λαβόντα τούτοις χρῆσθαι.

37. Ἀξώ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ στρατιωτικῇ ἡλικίᾳ σὺν τοῖς ὄργάνοις χαλκέας τε καὶ τέκτονας καὶ σκυτοτόμους, ὅπως ἀντιτι τοιούτων τεχνῶν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, μηδὲν ἐλλείπηται. οὗτοι δὲ ὄπλοφόρου μὲν τάξεως ἀπολελύσονται, ἂ δὲ ἐπίστανται, τῷ βουλομένῳ μισθοῦ ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἔσονται.

38. Ἡν δέ τις καὶ ἐμπορος βούληται ἐπεσθαι πωλεῖν τι βουλόμενος, τῶν μὲν προειρημένων

individually and often serviceable for the common good as well.

35. "As to what is needed for the commissariat,^{(5) commis-}
you officers of the armed soldiers must make inquiry
of the men under you, for we must not overlook any-
thing of this sort that any one may need; for it is
we that shall feel the want of it, if it is lacking. In
reference to what I order for the pack-animals, you
officers of the baggage-train must inquire into the
matter, and if any man is not properly provided,
require him to procure what is lacking.

36. "You superintendents of the engineering corps^{(6) engin-}
have here from me a list of the spearmen, the archers,
and the slingers, whose names have been stricken
from the roster. You must require those of them
who were spearmen to carry on the march a wood-
cutter's axe, those who were bowmen a mattock, and
those who were slingers a shovel. With these tools
they are to march in squads ahead of the wagons,
so that, in case there is any need of road-building,
you may get to work without delay, and so that, if I
require their services, I may know where to find them
when the time comes.

37. "And finally I shall take along those of an age for military service who are smiths and carpenters and cobblers, in order that, if anything is wanted in the army in the line of their trades also, we may not suffer for lack of it. And they shall be relieved of assignments to duty under arms, but they shall occupy the position assigned to them and there ply their trades for pay at the order of whoever wishes their services.

38. "And any merchant who wishes to accompany us, seeking a market for his wares, may do so; but if ^{and} ^{merchants}

Special arrangements for artisans

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ἡμερῶν τὰ πιτήδεια ἔχειν ἦν τι πωλῶν ἀλίσκηται,
πάντων στερήσεται· ἐπειδὴν δ' αὗται παρέλθωσιν
αἱ ἡμέραι, πωλήσει δῆπος ἀν βούληται. δῆστις
δὲ ἄν τῶν ἐμπόρων πλείστην ἀγορὰν παρέχων
φαίνηται, οὗτος καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ
παρ' ἑμοῦ δώρων καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεται. 39. εἰ δέ
τις χρημάτων προσδεῖσθαι νομίζει εἰς ἐμπολήν,
γνωστῆρας ἐμοὶ προσαγαγὼν καὶ ἐγγυητὰς ἢ μὴν
πορεύσεσθαι¹ σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ, λαμβανέτω ὁν
ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν.

'Εγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προαγορεύω· εἰ δέ τις
τι καὶ ἄλλο δέον ἐνορᾶ, πρὸς ἐμὲ σημαίνετω.

40. καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀπιόντες συσκευάζεσθε, ἐγὼ
δὲ θύσομαι ἐπὶ τῇ ὄρμῃ· ὅταν δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν
καλῶς ἔχῃ, σημανοῦμεν. παρέναι δὲ χρὴ ἀπαν-
τας τὰ προειρημένα ἔχοντας εἰς τὴν τεταγμένην
χώραν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἑαυτῶν. 41. ὑμεῖς
δὲ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος τάξιν εὐτρε-
πισάμενος πρὸς ἐμὲ πάντες συμβάλλετε, ἵνα
τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι χώρας καταμάθητε.

III

1. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν συνεσκευά-
ζοντο, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐθύετο. ἐπειδὴν δὲ καλὰ τὰ
ἰερὰ ἦν, ὠρμάτο σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ τῇ

¹ πορεύσεσθαι Stephanus, Marchant, Gemoll; πορεύεσθαι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

he is caught trying to sell anything within the number of days for which the troops are ordered to furnish their own provisions, he shall have all his goods confiscated. But when those days are past, he may sell as he pleases. And the man who seems to offer the largest stock of goods shall receive rewards and preferment both from the allies and from myself.

39. And if any merchant thinks he needs more money for the purchase of supplies, let him bring me vouchers for his respectability and identity, and sureties as a pledge that he is really going with the army, and he shall receive a certain amount from the fund we have.

"These are the directions I have to give in advance. If any one thinks of anything else that we need, let him inform me of it.

40. "Now do you go and make ready, and I will sacrifice for a blessing upon our start; and when the omens from the gods are favourable, we shall give the signal, and all must come equipped with what has been prescribed and join their own commanders at the place appointed.

41. And all of you officers, when you have made ready each his own division, come to me that you may acquaint yourselves with your several positions."

III

1. WHEN they heard this they began to make ready ^{The advance begins} for the march, and Cyrus proceeded to sacrifice; and when the omens of the sacrifice were favourable, he set out with the army. On the first day he left the

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μὲν πρώτη ἡμέρᾳ ἐξεστρατοπεδεύσατο ώς δυνατὸν ἐγγύτατα, ὅπως εἴ τις τι ἐπιλελησμένος εἴη, μετέλθοι, καὶ εἴ τις τι ἐνδεόμενος γνοίη, τοῦτο ἐπιπαρασκευάσαιτο.

2. Κυαξάρης μὲν οὖν τῶν Μήδων ἔχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος κατέμενεν, ώς μηδὲ τὰ οἰκοι ἔρημα εἴη. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ώς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα, τοὺς ἵππεας μὲν πρώτους ἔχων, καὶ πρὸ τούτων διερευνητὰς καὶ σκοποὺς ἀεὶ ἀναβιβάζων ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσθεν εὐσκοπώτατα· μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἥγε τὰ σκευοφόρα, ὅπου μὲν πεδινὸν εἴη, πολλοὺς ὄρμασθοὺς ποιούμενος τῶν ἀμαξῶν καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων· ὅπισθεν δὲ ἡ φάλαγξ ἐφεπομένη, εἴ τι τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπολείποιτο, οἱ προστυγχάνοντες τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπεμέλοντο ώς μὴ κωλύοντο πορεύεσθαι. 3. ὅπου δὲ στενοτέρα εἴη ἡ ὁδός, διὰ μέσου ποιούμενοι τὰ σκευοφόρα ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὄπλοφόροι· καὶ εἴ τι ἐμποδίζοι, οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα γνγνόμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ώς τὰ πολλὰ αἱ τάξεις παρ' ἑαυταῖς ἔχουσαι τὰ σκευοφόρα· ἐπετέτακτο γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς σκευοφόροις κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους¹ τάξιν ἴέναι, εἰ μὴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἀποκωλύοι. 4. καὶ σημεῖον δὲ ἔχων ὁ τοῦ ταξιάρχου σκευοφόρος ἥγειτο γνωστὸν τοῖς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τάξεως· ὥστ' ἀθρόοι ἐπορεύοντο, ἐπεμέλοντό τε ἴσχυρῶς ἐκαστος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ώς μὴ ὑπολείποιντο. καὶ οὕτω ποιούντων οὕτε ζητεῖν ἔδει ἀλλήλους ἄμα τε παρόντα ἅπαντα καὶ σάω-

¹ ἐκάστους Hertlein, most Edd.; ἐκαστον D, Dindorf; ἐκάστου xzF.

position he had occupied and encamped again as near as convenient to it. This he did, in order that, in case any one had forgotten anything, he might go back after it; and if any one discovered that he needed anything, he might still procure it.

2. Cyaxares, however, remained behind with one third of the Medes, so as not to leave the home country unprotected, while Cyrus, with the cavalry at the head of the line, marched as rapidly as possible; but he never failed to send patrols ahead, and scouts up to the heights commanding the widest view before them. After these he arranged the baggage train, and where the country was flat he arranged many lines of wagons and pack-animals abreast; the phalanx followed next, and if any part of the baggage train lagged behind, such of the officers as happened to be at hand took care that they and their men should not be retarded in their advance. 3. But when the road was narrower, the soldiers put the baggage in between their lines and marched on either side of it; and if they met with any hindrance, those of the soldiers who were near the place took the matter in hand. For the most part, the companies marched with their own baggage next to them; for the baggage captains had orders to go along with their own respective companies unless something unavoidable should prevent it. 4. And the baggage man of each captain went ahead bearing an ensign that was known to the men of his own company. They were thus enabled to march close together, and they were extremely careful, each of his own property, that nothing should be left behind. As they maintained this order, it was never necessary for them to look for one another, and at the same time everything was kept close at <sup>The order
of march</sup>

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τερα ἦν καὶ θάττον τὰ δέοντα εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται.

5. Ὡς δὲ οἱ προϊόντες σκοποὶ ἔδοξαν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὄραν ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνοντας καὶ χιλὸν καὶ ξύλα, καὶ ὑποζύγια δὲ ἔώρων ἔτερα τοιαῦτα ἄγοντα, τὰ δὲ καὶ νεμόμενα, καὶ τὰ πρόσω αὖ ἀφορῶντες ἐδόκουν καταμαυθάνειν μετεωριζόμενον ἡ καπνὸν ἡ κονιορτόν, ἐκ τούτων πάντων σχεδὸν ἐγίγνωσκον ὅτι εἴη που πλησίον τὸ στράτευμα τῶν πολεμίων. 6. εὐθὺς οὖν πέμπει τινὰ ὁ σκόπαρχος¹ ἀγγελοῦντα ταῦτα τῷ Κύρῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκέλευσε μένοντας ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς σκοπαῖς ὃ τι ἀν ἀεὶ καινὸν ὄρωσιν ἔξαγγέλλειν· τάξιν δὲ ἐπεμψεν ἵππεων εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ἐκέλευσε πειραθῆναι συλλαβεῖν τινας τῶν ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως σαφέστερον μάθοιεν τὸ δν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχθέντες τοῦτο ἐπραττον.

7. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτοῦ κατεχώριζεν, ὅπως παρασκευάσαι τὸ ὅσα φέτο χρήναι πρὶν πάνυ ὁμοῦ εἶναι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀριστᾶν παρηγγύησεν, ἔπειτα δὲ μένοντας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι τὸ παραγγελλόμενον προνοεῦν. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρίστησαν, συνεκάλεσε καὶ ἵππεων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἄρμάτων ἡγεμόνας, καὶ τῶν μηχανῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τῶν ἄρμαμαξῶν· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν συνήσαν. 9. οἱ δὲ καταδραμόντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον συλλαβόντες ἀνθρώπους ἥγαγον· οἱ δὲ ληφθέντες ἀνερωτώμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου ἔλεγον

¹ σκόπαρχος Dindorf, Edd. : σκοπάρχης MSS.

hand and in greater safety, and the soldiers always obtained more promptly anything that was wanted.

5. Now the scouts who went forward thought they saw men getting fodder and fuel on the plain; and they also saw beasts of burden, some loaded with other supplies of that sort and others grazing. Then, as they looked further on into the distance, they thought that they detected smoke or a cloud of dust rising up. From all these evidences they pretty well recognised that the army of the enemy was somewhere in the neighbourhood. 6. Accordingly, the officer in command of the scouts at once sent a man to report the news to Cyrus; and when he heard it he ordered them to remain at their look-out place and send him reports from time to time of whatever they saw that was new. Moreover, he sent forward a company of cavalry with orders to try to capture some of the men moving up and down the plain, in order that he might learn more definitely the real state of affairs. Accordingly, those who received these orders proceeded to execute them.

7. He himself halted the rest of the army there, so that they might make what preparations he considered necessary before they were in too close quarters. And he gave the word to take luncheon first and then to remain at their posts and be on the watch for orders. 8. So, when they had eaten, he summoned together the commanders of the cavalry, the infantry, and the chariot corps, and also the officers in charge of the engines, of the baggage train, and of the wagons, and they came. 9. And those who made the raid into the plain had captured some people and now brought them in; and the prisoners, when cross-questioned by Cyrus, said that

Cyrus gets
information
about the
enemy

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ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου εἰεν, προεληλυθότες ἐπὶ χιλόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ξύλα, παρελθόντες τὰς προφυλακάς· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ σπάνια πάντ' εἰναι. 10. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας, Πόσον δέ, ἔφη, ἅπεστιν ἐνθένδε τὸ στράτευμα;

Οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον, 'Ως δύο παρασάγγας.

'Επὶ τούτοις ἥρετο ὁ Κύρος, 'Ημῶν δ', ἔφη, λόγος τις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς;

Ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἔφασαν, καὶ πολὺς γε ὡς ἐγγὺς ἥδη εἶητε¹ προσιόντες.

Τί οὖν; ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, η̄ καὶ ἔχαιρον ἀκούοντες ίόντας; τοῦτο δὲ ἐπήρετο τῶν παρόντων ἔνεκα.

Οὐ μὰ Δῆ, εἴπον ἐκεῖνοι, οὐ μὲν δὴ ἔχαιρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα ἡνιῶντο.

11. Νῦν δ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, τί ποιοῦσιν;

'Εκτάττονται, ἔφασαν· καὶ ἔχθες δὲ καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν ταῦτὸ τοῦτ' ἐπραττον.

'Ο δὲ τάττων, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, τίς ἐστιν;

Οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, Αὐτός τε Κροῖσος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἑλλην τις ἀνήρ, καὶ ἄλλος δέ τις Μῆδος· οὗτος μέντοι ἐλέγετο φυγάς εἶναι παρ' ὑμῶν.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, 'Αλλ', ὡς Ζεῦ μέγιστε, λαβεῖν μοι γένοιτο αὐτὸν ὡς ἐγὼ βούλομαι.

12. 'Ἐκ τούτου τοὺς μὲν αὐχμαλώτους ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευσεν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς παρόντας ὡς λέξων τι ἀνήγετο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρῆν ἄλλος αὖ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοπάρχου, λέγων ὅτι ἵππέων τάξις μεγάλη ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ προφαίνοιτο· καὶ ἡμεῖς μέν, ἔφη, εἰκά-

¹ εἶητε Dindorf³, Hug, Breitenbach; εἶτε Dindorf⁴, Mar-
chant, Gemoll; ἦτε MSS.

they were from the camp and had come out after fodder, passing out beyond their advanced guards, while others had gone after fuel; for by reason of the vast numbers of their army, everything was scarce.

10. On hearing this, Cyrus asked: "How far from here is your army?"

"About two parasangs," they replied.

"Was there any talk about us over there?" Cyrus then asked.

"Yes, by Zeus," they answered, "a great deal, and to the effect that you were already close upon us in your advance."

"Tell me, then," said Cyrus, "were they glad when they heard we were coming?" This question he asked for the benefit of the bystanders.

"No, by Zeus," they answered; "they were not glad in the least, but were rather very much troubled."

11. "And what are they doing now?" asked Cyrus.

"They are being marshalled in battle array," they answered; "and yesterday and the day before they were doing the same."

"And the marshal," said Cyrus, "who is he?"

"Croesus himself," they replied, "and with him a Greek and some one else—a Mede; the latter, however, was said to be a deserter from your side."

"Grant, O Zeus almighty," said Cyrus, "that it be mine to get hold of him, as I desire!"

12. Then he ordered the prisoners to be led away, and turned to the bystanders as if to say something. But at that moment another messenger came from the captain of the scouts with word that a large body of cavalry was within sight on the plain. "And we presume," he added, "that they are coming with the

The enemy
recon-
noitres

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ζομεν ἐλαύνειν αὐτοὺς βουλομένους ἵδεῖν τόδε τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ταύτης ἄλλοι ὡς τριάκοντα ἵππεῖς συχνὸν προελαύνουσι,¹ καὶ μέντοι, ἔφη, κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς, ἵσως βουλόμενοι λαβεῖν, ἦν δύνωνται, τὴν σκοπήν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμὲν μία δεκάς οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς σκοπῆς.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐκέλευσε τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ δυτῶν ἵππέων ἐλάσαντας ὑπὸ τὴν σκοπήν ἀδήλους τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀτρεμίᾳν ἔχειν. "Οταν δ', ἔφη, η δεκάς η ἡμετέρα λείπῃ τὴν σκοπήν, ἐξαναστάντες ἐπίθεσθε τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν σκοπήν. ὡς δὲ ὑμᾶς μὴ λυπῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης τάξεως, ἀντέξελθε σύ, ἔφη, ὁ Τστάσπα, τὴν χιλιοστὸν τῶν ἵππέων λαβὼν καὶ ἐπιφάνηθι ἐναντίος τῇ τῶν πολεμίων τάξει. διώξῃς² δὲ μηδαμῆ εἰς ἀφανές, ἀλλ' ὅπως αἱ σκοπαὶ σοι διαμένωσιν ἐπιμεληθεὶς πάριθι. ἦν δ' ἄρα ἀνατείναντές τινες τὰς δεξιὰς προσελαύνωσιν ὑμῖν, δέχεσθε φιλίως τοὺς ἄνδρας.

14. 'Ο μὲν δὴ Τστάσπας ἀπιών ώπλίζετο· οἱ δ' ὑπηρέται ηλαυνον εὐθὺς ὡς ἐκέλευσεν. ἀπαντᾷ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ δὴ ἐντὸς τῶν σκοπῶν σὺν τοῖς θεράπονσιν ὁ πεμφθεὶς πάλαι κατάσκοπος, ὁ φύλαξ τῆς Σουσίδος γυναικός. 15. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κῦρος ὡς ἥκουσεν, ἀναπηδήσας ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας ὑπῆντα τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦτο· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὡσπερ εἰκὸς μηδὲν εἰδότας³ ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἤσαν

¹ προελαύνουσι Stephanus, Edd.; προσελαύνουσι MSS.

² διώξῃ Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; διάξει Dindorf; διάξεις MSS., Breitenbach.

³ εἰδότας Schliack, Marchant, Gemoll; εἰδότες MSS., Hug, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

intention of reconnoitring the army here. And we have good reasons for the suspicion, for at a considerable distance in advance of this company about thirty other horsemen are riding forward; as a matter of fact, they are riding in the direction of our party, aiming perhaps, if possible, to get possession of our look-out point; and we who are holding this particular point are only ten in number."

13. So Cyrus ordered a detachment of the horsemen who formed his body-guard to ride up to the foot of the place of look-out and to remain quiet there out of sight of the enemy. "But," he added, "when our ten leave the look-out place, rush up and attack the enemy as they come up it. But that the horsemen of the large battalion may not bring you to grief, do you, Hystaspas," said he to that officer, "take your regiment of cavalry, go out against them, and show yourself over against the enemy's battalion. But do not by any means allow yourself to pursue into places that you do not know, but when you have made sure that the look-out stations remain in your possession, come back. And if any ride toward you, holding up their right hands, receive them as friends."

14. Accordingly, Hystaspas went away and donned ^{Araspas returns} his armour; the men from Cyrus's body-guard rode off at once, as he had ordered. And just within the picket line there met them, with his attendants, the man who had been sent some time since as a spy, the guardian of the lady of Susa. 15. So when Cyrus heard this, he sprang up from his seat, went to meet him, and welcomed him cordially; and the rest, knowing nothing of the facts, were naturally

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τῷ πράγματι, ἔως Κῦρος εἶπεν, "Αὐδρες φίλοι,
ἥκει ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ ἄριστος. νῦν γὰρ ἥδη πάντας
ἀνθρώπους δεῖ εἰδέναι τὰ τούτου ἔργα. οὗτος
οὗτε αἰσχροῦ ἡττηθεὶς οὐδενὸς φύχετο οὔτ' ἐμὲ
φοβηθεὶς, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεμφθεὶς ὅπως ἡμῖν
μαθὼν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων σαφῶς τὰ δυτα ἔξαγ-
γείλειεν. 16. ἂ μὲν οὖν ἐγώ σοι ὑπεσχόμην, ω
'Αράσπα, μέμνημαί τε καὶ ἀποδώσω σὺν τούτοις
πᾶσι. δίκαιον δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀπαντας, ω ἄνδρες,
τούτον τιμᾶν ως ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ
ἡμετέρῳ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐκινδύνευσε καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπ-
έσχεν, η ἐβαρύνετο.

17. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ πάντες ἡσπάζοντο τὸν
'Αράσπαν καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο. εἰπόντος δὲ Κύρου δτι
τούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἴη ἄλις, "Α δὲ καιρὸς ἡμῖν
εἰδέναι, ταῦτ," ἔφη, διηγοῦ, ω 'Αράσπα· καὶ μηδὲν
ἐλάττου τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μηδὲ μείου τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.
κρείττον γὰρ μείζω οἰηθέντας μείονα ἰδεῖν η μείω
ἀκούσαντας ἴσχυρότερα εὑρίσκειν.

18. Καὶ μήν, ἔφη ὁ 'Αράσπας, ως ἀν ἀσφαλέ-
στατά γε εἰδείην ὅπόσον τὸ στράτευμά ἔστιν
ἐπιοίουν· συνεξέταττον γὰρ παρὸν αὐτός.¹

Σὺ μὲν ἄρα, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος μόνον
οἰσθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν.

'Εγὼ μὲν ναὶ μὰ Δλ, ἔφη ὁ 'Αράσπας, καὶ ως
διαινοοῦνται τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι.

'Αλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῖν πρῶ-
τον εἰπὲ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ.

¹ αὐτός Cobet, most Edd.; αὐτοῖς xz, Dindorf; αὐτούς y.

astonished at his actions until Cyrus said: "My friends, here has come a man most loyal; for now all the world must know at once what he has done. He went away not because his disgrace was too great for him to bear, nor because he feared my displeasure, but because I sent him to discover for us the exact condition of the enemy and to report to us the true state of affairs. 16. And now, Araspas, I have not forgotten what I promised you, and I will fulfil it, and all these men shall help me; for it is only right, my friends, that you also should all honour him as a valiant man. For, for our general good, he has risked his life and borne the stigma that was put upon him."

17. Then all embraced Araspas and gave him a hearty welcome. But Cyrus, remarking that there had been enough of that, added, "Tell us, Araspas, what it is of the first importance for us to know; and do not detract anything from the truth nor underrate the real strength of the enemy. For it is better for us to think it greater and find it less than to hear that it is less and find it really more formidable."

18. "Aye," said Araspas, "but I did take steps to ^{He delivers} get the most accurate information about the size of ^{his report} their army; for I was present in person and helped to draw it up in battle order."

"And so," said Cyrus, "you are acquainted not only with their numbers but also with their order of battle."

"Yes, by Zeus," answered Araspas, "I am; and I know also how they are planning to conduct the battle."

"Good," said Cyrus; "still, tell us first, in round numbers, how many of them there are."

19. Ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν, ἔφη, πάντες τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τριάκοντα τὸ βάθος καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς πλὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπέχουσιν¹ ἀμφὶ τὰ τετταράκοντα στάδια· πάνυ γάρ μοι, ἔφη, ἐμέλησεν ὥστε εἰδέναι ὄπόσον κατεῖχον χωρίον.

20. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, πῶς εἰσι τεταγμένοι; δtti εἶπας, Πλὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.

Τούτους δὲ οἱ μυρίαρχοι ἔταττον εἰς ἑκατὸν πανταχῇ τὴν μυριοστὸν ἑκάστην· τοῦτον γὰρ σφίσι καὶ οἴκοι νόμον ἔφασαν εἶναι τῶν τάξεων. καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος μέντοι μάλα ἄκων συνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς οὕτω τάττεσθαι· ἔβούλετο γὰρ δtti πλεῖστον ὑπερφαλαγγῆσαι τοῦ σοῦ στρατεύματος.

Πρὸς τί δή, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, τοῦτο ἐπιθυμῶν;

'Ως ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τῷ περιττῷ κυκλωσόμενος. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, 'Αλλ' οὗτοι² ἀν εἰδεῖεν εἰ οἱ κυκλούμενοι κυκλωθεῖεν. 21. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν παρὰ σοῦ καιρὸς μαθεῖν, ἀκηκόαμεν. ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή, ὡς ἀνδρες, οὕτω ποιεῖν· νῦν μὲν ἐπειδὰν ἐνθένδε ἀπέλθητε, ἐπισκέψασθε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τὰ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ὅπλα· πολλάκις γὰρ μικροῦ ἐνδείᾳ καὶ ἀνήρ καὶ ἵππος καὶ ἄρμα ἀχρείον γίγνεται· αὔριον δὲ πρώ, ἔως ἀν ἐγὼ θύωμαί, πρῶτον μὲν χρὴ ἀριστῆσαι καὶ ἀνδρας καὶ ἵππους, ὅπως ὁ

¹ ἐπέχουσιν Leonclav., Edd.; ἀπέχουσιν D; οὗτοι δὲ ἀμφέχουσιν ΧΑΗΒ; οὗτοι δὲ ἀπέχουσιν G; ἔχουσιν F.

² οὗτοι Brodæus, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; οὗτοι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

19. "Well," he replied, "with the exception of ^{The enemy's} the Egyptians, they are all drawn up thirty deep, ^{order of battle} both foot and horse, and their front extends about forty stadia; for I took especial pains to find out how much space they covered."¹

20. "And how are the Egyptians 'drawn up?'" asked Cyrus; "for you said 'with the exception of the Egyptians.'"

"The brigadier-generals drew them up—each one ten thousand men, a hundred square; for this, they said, was their manner of arranging their order of battle at home. And Croesus consented to their being so drawn up, but very reluctantly, for he wished to outflank your army as much as possible."

"And what is his object in doing that, pray?" asked Cyrus.

"In order, by Zeus," he replied, "to surround you with the part that extends beyond your line."

"Well," said Cyrus, "they may have an opportunity to find out whether the surrounders may not be surrounded. 21. Now we have heard from you what it is of the first importance for us to learn. And you, my men, must carry out the following programme: when you leave me, look at once to your own accoutrement and that of your horses; for often, for want of a trifle, man or horse or chariot becomes useless. And early to-morrow morning, during the time that I shall be sacrificing, first you must all breakfast, both men and horses, so that we may not

Cyrus outlines his order of battle

¹ The stadium is 600 feet; the ancient soldier was normally allowed 3 feet. That makes a front of 200 men per stadium, 8,000 for the entire front. That means, as they stood 30 deep, 240,000 in the army, and with the Egyptians 360,000.

τι ἀν πράττειν ἀεὶ καιρὸς η̄ μὴ τούτου η̄μῖν
ἐνδέη.

"Ἐπείτα δὲ σύ, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀρσάμα, . . . ,¹ τὸ δεξιὸν
κέρας ἔχε ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχετε,² καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μυρίαρ-
χοι ἦπερ νῦν ἔχετε· ὅμοι δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος δυτος
οὐδενὶ ἄρματι καιρὸς ἵππους μεταξευγνύναι.
παραγγεῖλατε δὲ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις καὶ λοχαγοῖς ἐπὶ
φάλαγγος καθίστασθαι εἰς δύο ἔχοντας ἕκαστον
τὸν λόχον. [ό δὲ λόχος η̄ν ἕκαστος εἴκοσι
τέτταρες.]³

22. Καὶ τις εἶπε τῶν μυριάρχων, Καὶ δοκοῦμέν
σοι, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, ἰκανῶς ἔξειν εἰς τοσούτους
τεταγμένοι πρὸς οὕτω βαθεῖαν φάλαγγα;

Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Αἱ δὲ βαθύτεραι φάλαγγες
ἡ ὡς ἔξικνεῖσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν ἐναντίων τί σοι,
ἔφη, δοκοῦσιν ἡ τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτειν ἢ τοὺς
συμμάχους ὠφελεῖν; 23. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, τοὺς
εἰς ἕκατὸν τούτους ὅπλίτας εἰς μυρίους ἀν μᾶλλον
βουλοίμην τετάχθαι· οὕτω γάρ ἀν ἐλαχίστοις
μαχοίμεθα. ἐξ ὅσων μέντοι ἐγὼ τὴν φάλαγγα
βαθυνῷ οἴομαι δῆλην ἐνεργὸν καὶ σύμμαχον ποι-
ήσειν αὐτὴν ἑαυτῇ. 24. ἀκοντιστὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς
θωρακοφόροις τάξω, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς τοὺς
τοξότας. τούτους γάρ πρωτοστάτας τί ἀν τις⁴
τάττοι, οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσι μηδεμίαν μάχην
ἀν ὑπομεῖναι ἐκ χειρός; προβεβλημένοι δὲ τοὺς

¹ Ἀρσάμα, . . . , Pantazides, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll (the missing words would be something like τὸ ἄριστερόν, σὺ δέ, ὁ Χρυσάντα); Ἀράσπα MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

² καὶ ἔχετε Pantazides, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; καὶ ἔχεις xzv, Dindorf, Breitenbach; κατέχεις y.

³ δὲ . . . τέτταρες MSS., Edd.; seems an obvious gloss.

⁴ τί ἔν τις Marchant; τοις ἔν τις z; πῶς ἔν τις cod. Med.,

fail in anything that it may be of importance for us to do in any exigency.

"And then do you, Arsamas," said he, . . . "and you [Chrysantas] take charge of the right wing, as you always have done, and the rest of you brigadier-generals take the posts you now have. When the race is on, it is not the time for any chariot to change horses. So instruct your captains and lieutenants to form a line with each separate platoon two deep." [Now each platoon contained twenty-four men.]

22. "And do you think, Cyrus," said one of the generals, "that drawn up with lines so shallow we shall be a match for so deep a phalanx?"

"When phalanxes are too deep to reach the enemy with weapons," answered Cyrus, "how do you think they can either hurt their enemy or help their friends? 23. For my part, I would rather have these hoplites who are arranged in columns a hundred deep drawn up ten thousand deep; for in that case we should have very few to fight against. According to the depth that I shall give my line of battle, I think I shall bring the entire line into action and make it everywhere mutually helpful. 24. I shall bring up the spearmen immediately behind the heavy-armed troops, and the bowmen immediately behind the spearmen; for why should any one put in the front ranks those who themselves acknowledge that they could never withstand the shock of battle in a hand-to-hand encounter? But with the heavy-

He explains
the advan-
tages of his
plan

Dindorf, Breitenbach, Gemoll; &^v τις xyV; τις &^v Stephanus, Hug.

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θωρακοφόρους μενοῦσί τε, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀκοντίζοντες, οἱ δὲ τοξεύοντες, ὑπὲρ τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων λυμανοῦνται τοὺς πολεμίους. ὅ τι δέ ἀν κακουργῆ τις τοὺς ἐναντίους, δῆλον ὅτι παντὶ τούτῳ τοὺς συμμάχους κουφίζει. 25. τελευταίους μέντοι στήσω τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι καλουμένους. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας οὔτε ἄνευ λιθολογήματος ὀχυροῦ οὔτε ἄνευ τῶν στέγην ποιούντων οὐδὲν ὅφελος, οὕτως οὐδὲ φάλαγγος οὔτ' ἄνευ τῶν πρώτων οὔτ' ἄνευ τῶν τελευταίων, εἰ μὴ ἀγαθοὶ ἔσονται, ὅφελος οὐδέν.

26. Ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς τι, ἔφη, ως παραγγέλλω τάττεσθε, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ὠσαύτως τοὺς λόγους καθίστατε, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πελτασταῖς ὠσαύτως.

27. Σὺ δέ, δις τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄρχεις, τελευταίους ἔχων τοὺς ἄνδρας παράγγελλε τοῖς σαντοῦ ἐφορᾶν τε ἐκάστῳ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὸ δέον ποιοῦσιν ἐπικελεύειν, τοῖς δὲ μαλακυομένοις ἀπειλεῖν ἵσχυρῷ· ἡν δέ τις στρέφηται προδιδόναι θέλων, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν. ἔργον γάρ ἔστι τοῖς μὲν πρωτοστάταις θαρρύνειν τοὺς ἐπομένους καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ· ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τεταγμένους πλείω φόβον παρέχειν τοῖς κακοῖς τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

28. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν ταῦτα ποιεῖτε. σὺ δέ, ὁ Εὐφράτα, δις ἄρχεις τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς, οὕτω ποίει ὅπως τὰ ζεύγη τὰ τοὺς πύργους ἄγοντα

armed troops as a shield in front of them, they will stand their ground; and the one division with their spears, the other with their arrows will rain destruction upon the enemy, over the heads of all the lines in front. And whatever harm any one does to the enemy, in all this he obviously lightens the task of his comrades. 25. Behind all the rest I shall station the so-called rear-guard of veteran reserves. For just as a house, without a strong foundation or without the things that make a roof, is good for nothing, so likewise a phalanx is good for nothing, unless both front and rear are composed of valiant men.

26. "Do you, therefore, take your positions as I direct, and you also, the officers of the light-armed troops, bring up your platoons immediately behind them, and you, the officers of the archery, fall in, in the same way, directly behind the light-armed troops.

27. "Now you, the commander of the rear-guard, as you are behind all the rest with your men, issue orders to your own division that each man watch those immediately in front of him, encourage those who are doing their duty, threaten violently those who lag behind, and punish with death any one who turns his back with traitorous intent. For it is the duty of the men in the front ranks with word and deed to encourage those who follow them, while it is your business, who occupy the rear, to inspire the cowardly with greater fear than the enemy does.

He gives his final directions

28. "That is what you have to attend to. Now you, Euphratas, who are commander of the division in charge of the engines, manage to have the teams that draw the towers follow as close as possible behind

ἔψεται ως ἐγγύτατα τῆς φάλαγγος. 29. σὺ δ', ὁ Δαοῦχε, διὸ ἄρχεις τῶν σκευοφόρων, ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις ἕγε πάντα τὸν τοιοῦτον στρατόν· οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται σου ἵσχυρῶς κολαζόντων τοὺς προϊόντας τοῦ καιροῦ ή λειπομένους.

30. Σὺ δέ, ὁ Καρδοῦχε, διὸ ἄρχεις τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν αὐτὸν ἕγοντας τὰς γυναικας, κατάστησον αὐτὰς τελευταίας ἐπὶ τοῖς σκευοφόροις. ἐπόμενα γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ πλήθους δόξαν παρέξει καὶ ἐνεδρεύειν ἡμῖν ἔξουσία ἔσται, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,¹ ήν κυκλοῦσθαι πειρῶνται, μείζω τὴν περιβολὴν ἀναγκάσει ποιεῖσθαι· ὅσῳ δ' ἀν μείζον χωρίον περιβάλλωνται, τοσούτῳ ἀνάγκη αὐτοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους γίγνεσθαι.

31. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν οὕτω ποιεῖτε· σὺ δέ, ὁ Ἀρτάοξε καὶ Ἀρταγέρσα [τὴν]² χιλιοστὸν ἑκάτερος τῶν σὺν ὑμῖν πεζῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔχετε. 32. καὶ σύ, ὁ Φαρνοῦχε καὶ Ἀσιαδάτα, τὴν τῶν ἵππέων χιλιοστὸν ἡς ἑκάτερος ἄρχει ὑμῶν μὴ συγκατατάπτετε εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα, ἀλλ' ὅπισθεν τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ἔξοπλίσθητε καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· ἔπειτα πρὸς ἐμὲ ἥκετε σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσιν. οὕτω δὲ δεῖ ὑμᾶς παρεσκευάσθαι ως πρώτους δεῆσον ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

33. Καὶ σὺ δὲ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς καμῆλοις ἀνδρῶν, ὅπισθεν τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ἑκτάττου· ποίει δ' ὁ τι ἀν σοι παραγγέλλῃ Ἀρταγέρσης.

34. 'Τμεῖς δ' οἱ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἡγεμόνες διακληρωσάμενοι, ὁ μὲν λαχὼν ὑμῶν πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος τὰ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑκατὸν ἔχων ἄρματα

¹ τοὺς πολεμίους Schneider, Edd.; τοῖς πολεμίοις MSS.

² τὴν MSS., Hug; [τὴν] Gemoll.

the phalanx. 29. And you, Daïchus, who have command of the baggage-train, bring up all your division of the army next after the towers, and let your adjutants punish severely those who advance or fall behind further than is expedient.

30. "And you, Carduchus, who have charge of the carriages which convey the women, bring them up in the rear next after the baggage-train. For, if all this follows, it will give an impression of numbers and will afford us an opportunity for an ambuscade; and if the enemy try to surround us, they will have to make a wider circuit; and the greater the circuit they have to make, the weaker they must necessarily make their line.

31. "That is your course to pursue. But do you, Artaozus and Artagerses, have each of you a regiment of your infantry behind the carriages. 32. And you, Pharnuchus and Asiadatas, keep each of you the regiment of cavalry under your command out of the main line and take your stand by yourselves behind the carriages, and then come to me with the rest of the officers. You must be just as fully ready, though in the rear, as if you were to be the first to have to join battle.

33. "And you, the commander of the men on camels, take your position also behind the women's carriages and do whatever Artagerses commands you.

34. "And finally, do you officers of the chariot forces cast lots, and let the one to whose lot it falls bring up his hundred chariots in front of the main

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καταστησάτω· αἱ δὲ ἔτεραι ἐκαποστύες τῶν ἀρμάτων, ἡ μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν πλευρὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς στοιχοῦσα ἐπέσθω τῇ φάλαγγι ἐπὶ κέρως, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον.

35. Κῦρος μὲν οὕτω διέταττεν.

Ἄβραδάτας δὲ ὁ Σούσων βασιλεὺς εἶπεν, Ἐγώ σοι, Κῦρε, ἐθελούσιος ὑφίσταμαι τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀντίας φάλαγγος τάξιν ἔχειν, εἰ μή τί σοι ἄλλο δοκεῖ.

36. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ δεξιωτάμενος ἐπήρετο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρμασι Πέρσας, Ἡ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, ταῦτα συγχωρεῖτε; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐ καλὸν εἴη ταῦτα ὑφίεσθαι, διεκλήρωσεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἔλαχεν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ἦπερ ὑφίστατο, καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους.

37. Τότε μὲν δὴ ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντες ὧν προεῖπον ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν.

IV

1. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ πρῳ Κῦρος μὲν ἐθύετο, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀριστήσας καὶ σπουδὰς ποιησάμενος ἔξωπλίζετο πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ καλοῖς χιτῶσι, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ καλοῖς θώραξι καὶ κράνεσιν ὥπλιζον δὲ καὶ ἵππους προμετωπιδίοις καὶ προστερνιδίοις· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μονίππους παραμηριδίοις, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ἄρμασιν ὅντας παραπλευριδίοις· ὥστε ἡστραπτε μὲν χαλκῷ, ἦνθει δὲ φοινικίσι πᾶσα ἡ στρατιά.

line; of the other two hundred, one shall take its place in line upon the right flank of the army, the other on the left, and follow the phalanx each in single file."

35. Thus did Cyrus plan his order of battle.

But Abradatas, the king of Susa, said: "I will gladly volunteer to hold for you the post immediately in front of the enemy's phalanx, Cyrus, unless you have some better plan." Abradatas asks for the post of danger

36. And Cyrus admired his spirit and clasped his hand, and turning to the Persians in command of the other chariots he asked: "Do you consent to this?" But they answered that it was inconsistent with their idea of honour to yield the place to him; accordingly, he had them cast lots; and Abradatas was assigned by lot to the place for which he had volunteered, and took his place over against the Egyptians.

37. This done, they went away, and when they had attended to the details of all that I have mentioned, they went to dinner; and then they stationed their pickets and went to bed.

IV

1. EARLY on the following day Cyrus was sacrificing, and the rest of the army, after breakfasting and pouring libations, proceeded to array themselves with many fine tunics and corselets and helms. And they armed their horses also with frontlets and breast-plates; the saddle-horses also they armed with thigh-pieces and the chariot teams with side-armour. And so the whole army flashed with bronze and was resplendent in purple. They prepare for battle

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2. Καὶ τῷ Ἀβραδάτᾳ δὲ τὸ τετράρρυμον ἄρμα καὶ ὕππων ὄκτω παγκάλως ἐκεκόσμητο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμελλε τὸν λινοῦν θώρακα, δις ἐπιχώριος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐνδύεσθαι, προσφέρει αὐτῷ ἡ Πάνθεια χρυσοῦν¹ καὶ χρυσοῦν κράνος καὶ περιβραχιόνια καὶ φέλια πλατέα περὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν χειρῶν καὶ χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν ποδήρη στολιδωτὸν τὰ κάτω καὶ λόφουν ὑακινθινοβαφῆ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποιήσατο λάθρᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκμετρησαμένη τὰ ἐκείνου ὅπλα. 3. οἱ δὲ ἴδων ἔθαύμασέ τε καὶ ἐπήρετο τὴν Πάνθειαν, Οὐ δήπου, ὡς γύναι, συγκόφασα τὸν σαυτῆς κόσμον τὰ ὅπλα μοι ἐποιήσω;

Μὰ Δί, ἔφη ἡ Πάνθεια, οὔκουν τόν γε πλείστου ἀξιον· σὺ γάρ ἔμοιγε, ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φανῆς οἰόσπερ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς εἶναι, μέγιστος κόσμος ἔσει.

Ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα ἄμα ἐνέδυε τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ λανθάνειν μὲν ἐπειράτο, ἐλείβετο δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ δάκρυα κατὰ τῶν παρειῶν.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁν ἀξιοθέατος ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ὡπλίσθη τοῖς ὅπλοις τούτοις, ἐφάνη μὲν κάλλιστος καὶ ἐλευθεριώτατος, ἀτε καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχούσης· λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ὑφηνίοχου τὰς ἡνίας παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀναβησόμενος ἥδη ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα. 5. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἡ Πάνθεια ἀποχωρῆσαι κελεύσασα τοὺς παρόντας πάντας ἐλεῖεν, Ἄλλ' ὅτι μέν, ὡς Ἀβραδάτα, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλη πώποτε γυνὴ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα μεῖζον τῆς ἑαυτῆς ψυχῆς ἐτίμησεν, οἷμαί σε γιγνώσκειν ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ μία τούτων εἰμί. τί οὖν ἐμὲ δεῖ καθ' ἐν ἔκαστον λέγειν; τὰ γάρ ἔργα οἷμαί σοι πιθανώ-

¹ χρυσοῦν supplied by Meyer, Edd.; not in MSS.

2. And Abradatas's chariot with its four poles and eight horses was adorned most handsomely ; and when he came to put on his linen corselet, such as they used in his country, Panthea brought him one of gold, also a helmet, arm-pieces, broad bracelets for his wrists—all of gold—and a purple tunic that hung down in folds to his feet, and a helmet-plume of hyacinth dye. All these she had had made without her husband's knowledge, taking the measure for them from his armour. 3. And when he saw them he was astonished and turning to Panthea, he asked : “Tell me, wife, you did not break your own jewels to pieces, did you, to have this armour made for me ?”

“No, by Zeus,” answered Panthea, “at any rate, not my most precious jewel ; for you, if you appear to others as you seem to me, shall be my noblest jewel.”

With these words, she began to put the armour on him, and though she tried to conceal them, the tears stole down her cheeks.

4. And when Abradatas was armed in his panoply he looked most handsome and noble, for he had been favoured by nature and, even unadorned, was well worth looking at ; and taking the reins from his groom he was now making ready to mount his chariot.

5. But at this moment Panthea bade all who stood near to retire and then she said : “Abradatas, if ever any woman loved her husband more than her own life, I think you know that I, too, am such a one. Why, then, should I tell of these things one by one? For I think that my conduct has given you better proof of

Panthea
arrays
Abradatas
for the
battle

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τέρα παρεσχῆσθαι τῶν νῦν ἀν¹ λεχθέντων λογών. 6. δμως δὲ οὕτως ἔχουσα πρὸς σὲ ὥσπερ σὺ οἰσθα, ἐπομνύώ σοι τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλίαν ἡ μὴν ἐγὼ βούλεσθαι ἀν μετὰ σοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γενομένου κοινῇ γῆν ἐπιέσασθαι μᾶλλον ἡ ζῆν μετ' αἰσχυνομένου αἰσχυνομένη οὕτως ἐγὼ καὶ σὲ τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ἐμαυτὴν ἡξίωκα. 7. καὶ Κύρῳ δὲ μεγάλην τινὰ δοκῶ ἡμᾶς χάριν ὁφείλειν, ὅτι με αἰχμάλωτον γενομένην καὶ ἐξαιρεθεῖσαν ἔαυτῷ οὔτε με ὡς δούλην ἡξίωσε κεκτῆσθαι οὔτε ὡς ἐλευθέραν ἐν ἀτίμῳ ὄνόματι, διεφύλαξε δὲ σοὶ ὥσπερ ἀδελφοῦ γυναικα λαβών. 8. πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅτε Ἀράσπας ἀπέστη αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐμὲ φυλάττων, ὑπεσχόμην αὐτῷ, εἴ με ἔάσειε πρὸς σὲ πέμψαι, ἡξειν αὐτῷ σὲ πολὺν Ἀράσπου ἀνδρα καὶ πιστότερον καὶ ἀμείνονα.

9. Ἡ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀγασθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις καὶ θυγάτις τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπηύξατο, Ἄλλ, οὐ Ζεὺ μέγιστε, δός μοι φανῆναι ἀξίω μὲν Πανθείας ἀνδρί, ἀξίω δὲ Κύρου φίλω τοῦ ἡμᾶς τιμήσαντος.

Ταῦτ' εἶπὼν κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ ἀρματείου δίφρου ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα. 10. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναβάντος αὐτοῦ κατέκλεισε τὸν δίφρον ὁ ὑφηνίοχος, οὐκ ἔχουσα ἡ Πάνθεια πῶς ἀν ἔτι ἄλλως ἀσπάσαιτο αὐτόν, κατεφίλησε τὸν δίφρον καὶ τῷ μὲν προήει ἦδη τὸ ἄρμα, ἡ δὲ λαθοῦσα αὐτὸν συνεφείπετο, ἔως ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ ἴδων αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας εἶπε, Θάρρει, Πάνθεια, καὶ χαῖρε καὶ ἅπιθι ἦδη.

¹ ἀν supplied by Cobet, Hertlein, Gemoll; not in MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant, Hug.

it than any words I now might say. 6. Still, with the affection that you know I have for you, I swear to you by my love for you and yours for me that, of a truth, I would far rather go down into the earth with you, if you approve yourself a gallant soldier, than live disgraced with one disgraced: so worthy of the noblest lot have I deemed both you and myself. 7. And to Cyrus I think we owe a very large debt of gratitude, because, when I was his prisoner and allotted to him, he did not choose to keep me either as his slave or as a freewoman under a dishonourable name, but took me and kept me for you as one would a brother's wife. 8. And then, too, when Araspas, who had been charged with my keeping, deserted him, I promised him that if he would let me send to you, a far better and truer friend than Araspas would come to him, in you."

9. Thus she spoke; and Abradatas, touched by the parting her words, laid his hand upon her head and lifting up his eyes toward heaven prayed, saying: "Grant me, I pray, almighty Zeus, that I may show myself a husband worthy of Panthea and a friend worthy of Cyrus, who has shown us honour."

As he said this, he mounted his car by the doors in the chariot-box. 10. And when he had entered and the groom closed the box, Panthea, not knowing how else she could now kiss him good-bye, touched her lips to the chariot-box. And then at once his chariot rolled away, but she followed after, unknown to him, until Abradatas turned round and saw her and said: "Have a brave heart, Panthea, and farewell! And now go back."

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11. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι λαβοῦσαι ἀπῆγον αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἄρμάμαξαν καὶ κατακλίναντες κατεκάλυψαν τῇ σκηνῇ. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι, καλοῦ ὅντος τοῦ θεάματος τοῦ τε Ἀθραδάτου καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος, οὐ πρόσθεν ἐδύναντο θεάσασθαι αὐτὸν πρὶν ἡ Πάνθεια ἀπῆλθεν.

12. Ως δὲ ἐκεκαλλιερήκει μὲν ὁ Κύρος, ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ παρετέτακτο αὐτῷ ὥσπερ παρήγγειλε, κατέχων σκοπὰς ἄλλας πρὸ ἄλλων συνεκάλεσε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ ἔλεξεν ὡδε· 13. Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τὰ μὲν Ἱερὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἡμῖν φαίνουσιν οἰάπερ ὅτε τὴν πρόσθεν νίκην ἔδοσαν ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ βούλομαι ἀναμνῆσαι ὃν μοι δοκεῖτε μεμνημένοι πολὺ ἀν εὐθυμότεροι εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἵέναι. 14. ἡσκήκατε μὲν γὰρ τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν πολεμίων, συντέτραφθε δὲ καὶ συντέταχθε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πολὺ πλείῳ ἥδη χρόνον ἡ οἱ πολέμοι καὶ συννεικήκατε μετ' ἄλληλων· τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ πολλοὶ συνήττηνται μεθ' ἀντῶν. οἱ δὲ ἀμάχητοι ἐκατέρων οἱ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἵσασιν ὅτι προδότας τοὺς παραστάτας ἔχουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἵστε ὅτι μετ' ἐθελόντων τοῖς συμμάχοις ἀρήγειν μάχεσθε. 15. εἰκὸς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πιστεύοντας ἀλλήλοις ὁμόνως¹ μάχεσθαι μένοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀπιστοῦντας ἀναγκαῖον βουλεύεσθαι πῶς ἀν ἔκαστοι τάχιστα ἐκποδὼν γένοιντο.

¹ διαδνως Dindorf, most Edd.; διανοδως MSS., Sauppe, Hertlein.

11. Then the eunuchs and maid-servants took her and conducted her to her carriage, where they bade her recline, and hid her completely from view with the hood of the carriage. And the people, beautiful as was the sight of Abradatas and his chariat, had no eyes for him, until Panthea was gone.

12. Now when Cyrus found the omens from his sacrifice favourable, and when his army was arranged as he had instructed, he had posts of observation occupied, one in advance of another, and then called his generals together and addressed them as follows:

13. "Friends and allies, the gods have sent us omens from the sacrifice just like those we had when they gave the former victory into our hands. So I wish to remind you of some things which, if you will remember them, I think will make you go into battle with much stouter hearts. 14. On the one hand, you have received much better training in the arts of war than the enemy, you have lived together and drilled together in the same place for a much longer time now than they, and together you have won a victory; most of the enemy, on the other hand, have together suffered defeat. Some on both sides, however, were not in the battle; among these our enemies know that they have traitors by their sides, while you who are with us know that you are doing battle in company with those who are glad to stand by their comrades. 15. And it is a matter of course that those who trust one another will stand their ground and fight with one heart and mind, and that those who distrust each other will necessarily be scheming, each how he may get out of the way as quickly as possible.

Cyrus analyses the situation

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16. Ιωμεν δή, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἄρματα μὲν ἔχοντες ὠπλισμένα πρὸς ἀοπλα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ ἵππεας καὶ ὑππους ὠπλισμένους πρὸς ἀόπλους, ὡς ἐκ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι. 17. πεζοῖς δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οἷς καὶ πρόσθεν μαχεῖσθε, Αλγύπτιοι δὲ ὁμοίως μὲν ὠπλισμένοι εἰσίν, ὁμοίως δὲ τεταγμένοι· τάς τε γὰρ ἀσπίδας μείζους ἔχουσιν ἢ ὡς ποιεῖν τι καὶ ὄρāν, τεταγμένοι τε εἰς ἑκατὸν δῆλον δῆτι κωλύσουσιν ἀλλήλους μάχεσθαι πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων. 18. εἰ δὲ ὠθοῦντες ἔξωσειν πιστεύουσιν, ὑπποις αὐτοὺς πρῶτον δεήσει ἀντέχειν καὶ σιδήρῳ ὑφ' ὑππων ἰσχυριζομένῳ. ἦν δέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπομείνη, πῶς ἂμα δυνήσεται ὑππομαχεῖν τε καὶ φαλαγγομαχεῖν καὶ πυργομαχεῖν; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἡμῖν μὲν ἐπαρήξουσι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους παίοντες ἀμηχανεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι ποιήσουσιν.

19. Εἰ δέ τινος ἔτι ἐνδεῖσθαι δοκεῖτε, πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγετε· σὺν γὰρ θεοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀπορήσομεν. καὶ εἰ μέν τις εἰπεῖν τι βούλεται, λεξάτω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ προσευξάμενοι οἱς ἐθύσαμεν θεοῖς ἵτε ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις· 20. καὶ ἔκαστος ὑμῶν ὑπομιμησκέτω τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ἄπερ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐπιδεικνύτω τις τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἑαυτὸν ἄξιον ἀρχῆς, ἄφοβον δεικνὺς καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ λόγους.

16. "Therefore, my men, let us go against the enemy, to fight in a hand-to-hand encounter, with our chariots armed, against theirs unarmed ; and our horses and riders in like manner armed, against theirs unarmed. 17. The infantry that you will fight against, you have fought before—all but the Egyptians ; and they are armed and drawn up alike badly ; for with those big shields which they have they cannot do anything or see anything ; and drawn up a hundred deep, it is clear that they will hinder one another from fighting—all except a few. 18. But if they believe that by rushing they will rush us off the field, they will first have to sustain the charge of horses and of steel driven upon them by the force of horses ; and if any of them should hold his ground, how will he be able to fight at the same time against cavalry and phalanxes and towers ? And that he will have to do, for those upon our towers will come to our aid and raining their missiles upon the enemy will drive them to distraction rather than to fighting.

19. "Still, if you think we need anything more, tell me ; for with the help of the gods, we shall lack for nothing. So, if any one wishes to make any remarks, let him speak. If not, do you go to the place of sacrifice and pray to the gods to whom we have sacrificed and then go back to your posts. 20. And each one of you remind his own men of what I have called to your attention, and let each man prove to those whom he commands that he is himself worthy of command, by showing himself fearless in his bearing, in his countenance, and in his words."



BOOK VII

THE GREAT BATTLE

THE FALL OF SARDIS AND BABYLON

Z

I

1. Οἱ μὲν δὴ εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπῆσαν πρὸς τὰς τάξεις τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν προσήνεγκαν οἱ θεράποντες ἐμφαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἔτι οὖσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερά. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἑστηκὼς ἀπαρξάμενος ἡρίστα καὶ μετεδίδου ἀεὶ τῷ μάλιστα δεομένῳ καὶ σπείσας καὶ εὐξάμενος ἔπιε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν οὗτως ἐποίουν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἰτησάμενος Δία πατρῶν ἡγεμόνα εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰππον καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν. 2. ὠπλισμένοι δὲ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κῦρον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Κύρῳ ὅπλοις, χιτῶσι φοινικοῖς, θώραξι χαλκοῖς, κράνεσι χαλκοῖς, λόφοις λευκοῖς, μαχαίραις, παλτῷ κρανείνῳ ἐνὶ ἔκαστος οἱ δὲ Ἰπποι προμετωπιδίοις καὶ προστεριδίοις καὶ παραμηρίδίοις¹ χαλκοῖς· τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα παραμηρίδια ἦν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τοσοῦτον μόνον διέφερε τὰ Κύρου ὅπλα ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐκέχριτο τῷ χρυσοειδεῖ χρώματι, τὰ δὲ Κύρου ὅπλα ὥσπερ κάτοπτρον ἔξελαμπεν.

¹ παραμηρίδοις Weiske, Edd.; παραπλευριδίοις γG²; not in xxv.

BOOK VII

I

1. So when they had prayed to the gods they Cyrus went back to their posts; and while Cyrus and his staff were still engaged with the sacrifice, their attendants brought them meat and drink. And Cyrus remained standing just as he was and first offered to the gods a part and then began his breakfast, and kept giving a share of it also from time to time to any one who most needed it. And when he had poured a libation and prayed, he drank; and the rest, his staff-officers, followed his example. After that, he prayed to ancestral Zeus to be their guide and helper and then mounted his horse and bade his staff do the same. 2. Now all Cyrus's staff were panoplied in armour the same as his: purple tunics, bronze corselets, bronze helmets with white plumes, and sabres; and each had a single spear with a shaft of cornel wood. Their horses were armed with frontlets, breast-pieces, and thigh-pieces of bronze; these served to protect the thighs of the rider as well. The arms of Cyrus differed from those of the rest in this only, that while the rest were overlaid with the ordinary gold colour, Cyrus's arms flashed like a mirror.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβη καὶ ἔστη ἀποβλέπων ἦπερ ἔμελλε πορεύεσθαι, βροντὴ δεξιὰ ἐφθέγξατο· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἔψόμεθά σοι, ὁ Ζεῦ μέγιστε. καὶ φρμάτο ἐν μὲν¹ δεξιᾷ ἔχων Χρυσάνταν τὸν ἵππαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἵππέας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἀρσάμαν καὶ τοὺς πεζούς. 4. παρηγγύησε δὲ παρορᾶν πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον καὶ ἐν ἵσφι ἔπεσθαι· ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ σημεῖον ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος. καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ διαμένει.

Πρὸν δὲ ὄρᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τρὶς ἀνέπαυσε τὸ στράτευμα. 5. ἐπεὶ δὲ προεληλύθεσαν ως εἴκοσι σταδίους, ἥρχοντο ἡδη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα ἀντιπροσιὸν καθορᾶν.² ως δὲ ἐν τῷ καταφανεῖ πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ πολέμιοι πολὺ ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπερφαλαγγοῦντες, στήσαντες τὴν αὐτῶν φάλαγγα, οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἄλλως κυκλοῦσθαι, ἐπέκαμπτον εἰς κύκλωσιν, ὥσπερ γάμμα ἐκατέρωθεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν τάξιν ποιήσαντες, ως πάντοθεν ἀμα μάχοιντο. 6. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὄρῶν ταῦτα οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἀφίστατο, ἀλλ' ὠσαύτως ἤγειτο.

Κατανοῶν δὲ ως πρόσω τὸν καμπτῆρα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐποιήσαντο περὶ δύν κάμπτοντες ἀνέτεινον

¹ ἐν μὲν Dindorf, Edd.; μὲν ἐν MSS.

² καθορᾶν Dindorf⁴, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; παρορᾶν MSS., Dindorf³, Breitenbach.

3. Then, when he had mounted his horse and sat looking off in the direction he was to take, there was a clap of thunder on the right. "Almighty Zeus, we will follow thee," he cried, and started, with Chrysantas, the master of the horse, and the cavalry on the right, and on the "left Arsamas and the infantry. 4. And he gave orders to keep an eye upon his ensign and advance in even step. Now his ensign was a golden eagle with outspread wings mounted upon a long shaft. And this continues even unto this day as the ensign of the Persian king.

Before they came in sight of the enemy, he halted the army as many as three times. 5. But when they had advanced about twenty stadia, then they began to get sight of the enemy's army coming on to meet them. And when they were all in sight of one another and the enemy became aware that they greatly outflanked the Persians on both sides, Croesus halted his centre—for otherwise it is impossible to execute a surrounding manœuvre—and began to wheel the wings around to encompass the Persians, thus making his own lines on either flank in form like a gamma,¹ so as to close in and attack on all three sides at once. 6. But Cyrus, although he saw this movement, did not any the more recede but led on just as before.

"Do you observe, Chrysantas, where the wings are drawing off to form their angle with the centre?" he asked, as he noticed at what a distance from the centre column on both sides they made their turning point, and how far they were pushing

¹ Thus: Γ.

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τὰ κέρατα, Ἐυνοεῖς, ἔφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἐνθα τὴν ἐπικαμπὴν ποιοῦνται;

Πάνυ γε, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, καὶ θαυμάζω γε· πολὺ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀποσπᾶν τὰ κέρατα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος.

Ναὶ μὰ Δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ ἀπό γε τῆς ἡμετέρας.

7. Τί δὴ τοῦτο;

Δῆλον ὅτι φοβούμενοι μὴ ἦν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν γένηται τὰ κέρατα τῆς φάλαγγος ἔτι πρόσω οὔσης, ἐπιθώμεθα αὐτοῖς.

Ἐπειτ', ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, πῶς δυνήσονται ὠφελεῖν οἱ ἔτεροι τοὺς ἔτερους οὕτω πολὺ ἀπέχοντες ἄλληλων;

Άλλὰ δῆλον, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὅτι ἡνίκα ἀν γένηται τὰ κέρατα ἀναβαίνοντα κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῶν πλαγίων τοῦ ἡμετέρου στρατεύματος, στραφέντες ὡς εἰς φάλαγγα ἂμα πάντοθεν ἡμῖν προσίασιν, ὡς ἂμα πάντοθεν μαχούμενοι.

8. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, εὖ σοι δοκοῦσι βουλεύεσθαι;

Πρός γε ἀ ὄρωσι· πρὸς δὲ ἀ οὐχ ὄρωσιν ἔτι κάκιον ἡ εἰ κατὰ κέρας προσῆσαν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀρσάμα, ἡγοῦ τῷ πεζῷ ἡρέμα ὕσπερ ἐμὲ ὄρᾶς· καὶ σύ, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἐν ἵσῳ τούτῳ τὸ ἴππικὸν ἔχων συμπαρέπουν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπειμι ἐκεῖσε ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ἄρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης· ἂμα δὲ παριῶν ἐπισκέψομαι ἔκαστα πῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει. 9. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκεῖ γένωμαι, δταν ἡδη ὄμοῦ προσιόντες ἄλληλοις γιγνώμεθα, παιάνα ἔξαρξω, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπείγεσθε. ἡνίκα δὲ ἀν ἡμεῖς ἐγχειρῶμεν

forward their wings in executing their flanking movement.

"Indeed I do," answered Chrysantas, "and I am surprised, too; for it strikes me that they are drawing their wings a long way off from their centre."

"Aye, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "and from ours, too."

7. "What, pray, is the reason for that?"

"Evidently because they are afraid their wings will get too close to us while their centre is still far away and that we shall thus close with them."

"Then," said Chrysantas, "how will the one division be able to support the other, when they are so far apart?"

"Well," answered Cyrus, "it is obvious that just as soon as the wings now advancing in column get directly opposite the flanks of our army, they will face about so as to form front and then advance upon us from all three sides simultaneously; for it is their intention to close in on us on all sides at once."

8. "Well," said Chrysantas, "do you then think their plan a good one?"

"Yes; to meet what they see. But in the face or what they do not see, it is even worse than if they were coming on in column. But do you, Arsamas," said he, "lead on your infantry slowly, just as you see me moving; and you, Chrysantas, follow along with the cavalry in an even line with him; meanwhile I shall go to the point where it seems to me most advantageous to open the battle; and at the same time, as I pass along, I will take observations and see how everything is with our side. 9. But when I reach the spot, and as soon as in our advance we are near enough together, I will begin the pæan, and then do you press on. And the moment we come to close

Cyrus gives
orders how
to meet it

τοῖς πολεμίοις, αἰσθήσεσθε μέν, οὐ γὰρ οἷμαι δόλιγος θόρυβος ἔσται, ὄρμήσεται δὲ τηνικαῦτα Ἀβραδάτας ἥδη σὺν τοῖς ἄρμασιν εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰρήσεται· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ἔπεσθαι ἔχομένους ὅτι μάλιστα τῶν ἀρμάτων. οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπεσούμεθα. παρέσομαι δὲ κάγῳ γὰν δύνωμαι τάχιστα διώκων τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἦν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωστι.

10. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ σύνθημα παρεγγυήσας Ζεὺς σωτῆρ καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐπορεύετο. μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν ἀρμάτων καὶ τῶν θωρακοφόρων διαπορευόμενος ὅπότε προσβλέψει τίνας τῶν ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι, τότε μὲν εἰπεν ἄν, Ὡ ἄνδρες, ὡς ἥδη ὑμῶν τὰ πρόσωπα θεάσασθαι. τοτὲ δ' αὖ ἐν ἄλλοις ἄν ἔλεξεν, Ἄρα, ἐνηργεῦτε, ἄνδρες, ὅτι ὁ νῦν ἀγών ἔστιν οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς τήμερον νίκης, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ἦν νενικήκατε καὶ περὶ πάσης εὐδαιμονίας; 11. ἐν ἄλλοις δ' ἄν παριὼν¹ εἰπεν, Ὡ ἄνδρες, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδέν ποτε ἔτι θεοὺς αἰτιατέον ἔσται παραδεδώκασι γὰρ ἡμῖν πολλά τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ κτίσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἄνδρες² ἀγαθὸι γενώμεθα. 12. κατ' ἄλλους δ' αὖ τοιάδε· Ὡ ἄνδρες, εἰς τίνα ποτ' ἄν καλλίονα ἔρανον ἀλλήλους παρακαλέσαιμεν ἢ εἰς τόνδε; νῦν γὰρ ἔξεστιν ἀγαθοῖς ἄνδράσι γενομένοις πολλὰ κάγαθὰ ἀλλήλοις εἰσενεγκεῖν. 13. κατ' ἄλλους δ' αὖ, Ἐπίστασθε μέν,

¹ παριὼν Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; προσιὼν xzv; προῖὼν y, earlier Edd.

² ἄνδρες Dindorf, most Edd.; ἄνδρες MSS., Breitenbach.

quarters with the enemy, you will perceive it, for there will be no little noise, I presume; and at the same moment Abradatas will charge with his chariots upon the enemy's lines—for so he will be instructed to do—and you must follow him, keeping as close as possible behind the chariots. For in this way we shall best throw the enemy into confusion and then fall upon them. And I also shall be there as soon as I can, please God, to join in the pursuit."

10. When he had spoken these words, he passed along the lines the watchword, ZEUS OUR SAVIOUR AND GUIDE, and rode on. And as he passed between the lines of chariots and heavy-armed infantry and bestowed a glance upon some of those in the lines, he would say: "What a pleasure it is, my friends, to look into your faces." And then again in the presence of others he would say: "I trust you remember, men, that in the present battle not only is to-day's victory at stake, but also the first victory you won and all our future success." 11. Before still others, as he passed along, he would remark: "For all time to come, my men, we shall never have any more fault to find with the gods; for they have given us the opportunity of winning many blessings. So let us prove ourselves valiant men." 12. Passing still others he said: "To what fairer common feast¹ could we ever invite each other, my men, than to this one? For now by showing ourselves brave men we may each contribute many good things for our mutual benefit." 13. Passing others he would say: "I suppose

He encourages his men

¹ A "common feast," *spavos*, was a feast where all the participants contributed an equal share — a pic-nic. The *spavos* might also be a society or club in which all the members contributed equally to some public cause.

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οῖμαι, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὅτι νῦν ἀθλα πρόκειται τοῖς
νικῶσι μὲν διώκειν, παίειν, κατακαίνειν, ἀγαθὰ
ἔχειν, καλὰ ἀκούειν, ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, ἄρχειν· τοῖς
δὲ κακοῖς δῆλον ὅτι τάνατία τούτων. ὅστις οὖν
αὐτὸν φιλεῖ, μετ' ἐμοῦ μαχέσθω· ἐγὼ γάρ
κακὸν οὐδὲν οὔδ' αἰσχρὸν ἔκων εἶναι προσήσομαι.
14. ὅπότε δ' αὖ γένοιτο κατά τινας τῶν πρόσθεν
συμμαχεσαμένων, εἰπεν ἄν, Πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὡς
ἄνδρες, τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἐπίστασθε γάρ οἵαν τε οἱ
ἀγαθοὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἡμέραν ἄγουσι καὶ οἵαν οἱ
κακοί.

15. Ὡς δὲ παριὼν κατὰ Ἀβραδάταν ἐγένετο,
ἔστη· καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας παραδοὺς τῷ ὑφηνιόχῳ
τὰς ἡμίας προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ· προσέδραμον δὲ καὶ
ἄλλοι τῶν πλησίον τεταγμένων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ
άρματηλατῶν. ὁ δ' αὖ Κῦρος ἐν τοῖς παραγεγενη-
μένοις ἔλεξεν, 'Ο μὲν θεός, ὡς Ἀβραδάτα, ὥσπερ
σὺ ἡξίους, συνηξίωσέ σε καὶ τοὺς σὺν σοὶ πρωτο-
στάτας εἶναι τῶν συμμάχων· σὺ δὲ τοῦτο
μέμνησο, ὅταν δέη σε ἥδη ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὅτι Πέρσαι
οἵ τε θεασόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἔσονται καὶ οἱ ἐψόμενοι
ὑμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἔάσοντες ἐρήμους ὑμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

16. Καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας εἶπεν, 'Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν καθ'
ἡμᾶς ἔμουγε δοκεῖ, ὡς Κῦρε, καλῶς ᔁχειν· ἀλλὰ τὰ
πλάγια λυπεῖ με, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κέρατα
ἰσχυρὰ ὅρῶ ἀνατεινόμενα καὶ ἄρμασι καὶ παν-
τοδαπῇ στρατιᾷ· ἡμέτερον δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτοῖς
ἀντιτέτακται ἢ ἄρματα· ὡστ' ἔγωγ', ἔφη, εἰ μὴ
ἔλαχον τὴν τάξιν, γῆσχυνόμην ἀν ἐνθάδε ὥν·
οὕτω πολύ μοι δοκῶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι.

17. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, 'Αλλ' εἰ τὰ παρὰ σοὶ
καλῶς ᔁχει, θάρρει ὑπὲρ ἔκείνων· ἐγὼ γάρ σοι σὺν

that you understand, men, that pursuing, dealing blows and death, plunder, fame, freedom, power—all these are now held up as prizes for the victors ; the cowardly, of course, have the reverse of all this. Whoever, therefore, cares for himself, let him fight with me ; for I will never bring myself to do anything base or cowardly, if I can help it.” 14. But whenever he came past any of those who had fought under him before, he would say : “ What need to say anything to you, my men ? For you know how the brave celebrate a day in battle, and how cowards.”

15. And as he passed along and came to Abradatas, he stopped ; and Abradatas, handing the reins to his groom, came toward him, and others also of those whose positions were near, both foot and chariot-drivers, ran up. And then to the company gathered about him Cyrus said : “ Abradatas, God has approved your request that you and your men should take the front ranks among the allies. So now remember this, when presently it becomes necessary for you to enter the conflict, that Persians will not only be your witnesses but will also follow you and will not let you go into the conflict unsupported.”

His last
interview
with
Abradatas

16. “ Well,” answered Abradatas, “ to me at least our part of the army seems to be all right ; but I am anxious for the flanks ; for I see the enemy’s wings stretching out strong with chariots and troops of every description, while in the centre there is nothing opposed to our side except chariots ; and so if I had not obtained this position by lot, I should, for my part, be ashamed of being here, so much the safest position do I think I occupy.”

17. “ Well,” said Cyrus, “ if your part is all right, His con-
never fear for the others ; for with the help of the fidence in
the outcome

θεοῦς ἔρημα τῶν πολεμίων τὰ πλάγια ταῦτα ἀποδεῖξω. καὶ σὺ μὴ πρότερον ἔμβαλλε τοῖς ἐναντίοις, διαμαρτύρομαι, πρὸν ἀν φεύγοντας τούτους οὓς οὐν φοβεῖ θεάσῃ· τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐμεγαληγόρει, μελλούσης τῆς μάχης γίγνεσθαι· ἄλλως δὲ οὐ μάλα μεγαλήγορος ἦν· "Οταν μέντοι ἵδης τούτους φεύγοντας, ἐμέ τε ἡδη παρέναι νόμιζε καὶ ὅρμα εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας· καὶ σὺ γάρ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἐναντίοις κακίστοις ἀν χρήσαιο, τοῖς δὲ μετὰ σαυτοῦ ἀρίστοις.

18. Ἀλλ' ἔως ἔτι σοι σχολή, ὁ Ἀβραδάτα, πάντως παρελάσας παρὰ τὰ σαυτοῦ ἄρματα παρακάλει τοὺς σὺν σοὶ εἰς τὴν ἔμβολήν, τῷ μὲν προσώπῳ παραθαρρύνων, ταῖς δὲ ἐλπίσιν ἐπικουφίζων. ὅπως δὲ κράτιστοι φανεῖσθε τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρμασι, φιλονικίαν αὐτοῖς ἔμβαλλε· καὶ γάρ, εὐΐσθι, ἦν τάδε εὖ γένηται, πάντες ἐροῦσι τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲν εἶναι κερδαλεώτερον ἀρετῆς.

'Ο μὲν δὴ Ἀβραδάτας ἀναβὰς παρῆλαυνε καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίει.

19. 'Ο δὲ αὐτὸς Κῦρος παριὼν ως ἐγένετο πρὸς τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, ἔνθα ὁ 'Τστάσπας τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔχων ἦν τῶν Περσῶν ἵππέων, ὀνομάσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν, "Ω 'Τστάσπα, νῦν ὁρᾶς ἔργον τῆς σῆς ταχυεργίας· νῦν γάρ ἦν φθάσωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους κατακανόντες, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἀποθανεῖται.

20. Καὶ ὁ 'Τστάσπας ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν, 'Αλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἑξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν μελήσει, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ πλαγίου σὺ ἄλλοις πρόσταξον, ὅπως μηδὲ οὗτοι σχολάζωσι.

Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, 'Αλλ' ἐπί γε τούτους ἐγὼ αὐτὸς παρέρχομαι· ἄλλ', ὁ 'Τστάσπα, τόδε μέ-

gods I will clear those flanks of enemies for you. And do not you hurl yourself upon the opposing ranks, I adjure you, until you see in flight those whom you now fear." Cyrus indulged in such boastful speech only on the eve of battle; at other times he was never boastful at all; and he went on: "But when you see them in flight, then be sure that I am already at hand, and charge upon those fellows; for at that moment you will find your opponents most cowardly and your own men valiant.

18. "But now, Abradatas, while you have time, by all means ride along your line of chariots and exhort your men to the charge, cheering them by your own looks and buoying them up with hopes. Furthermore, inspire them with a spirit of rivalry that you and your division may prove yourselves the best of the charioteers. And that will be worth while; for be assured that if we are successful to-day, all men in future will say that nothing is more profitable than valour."

Abradatas accordingly mounted and drove along and did as Cyrus had suggested.

19. And as Cyrus passed along again, he came to the left wing, where Hystaspas was with half the Persian cavalry; he called to him and said: "Now, Hystaspas, you see some use for your speed; for now, if we can kill the enemy before they kill us, not one of us will perish."

20. "Well," said Hystaspas laughing, "we will take care of those opposite us; assign those on the flank to another division, so that they also may have something to do."

"Why," said Cyrus, "I am going on to them myself. But remember this, Hystaspas, no matter to which of

He exhorts
other
officers:
(1) Hystas-
pas,

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μνησο, ὅτω ἀν ήμῶν ὁ θεὸς νίκην διδῷ, ἢν τί που μένη πολέμιον, πρὸς τὸ μαχόμενον ἀεὶ συμβάλλωμεν.

21. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν προήει. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλευρὸν παριὼν ἐγένετο καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ταύτη ἀρμάτων, πρὸς τοῦτον ἔλεξεν, Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔρχομαι ὑμῖν ἐπικουρήσων, ἀλλ' ὅπόταν αἰσθησθε ἡμᾶς ἐπιτιθεμένους κατ' ἄκρον, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς πειρᾶσθε ἀμα διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνειν πολὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ἔσεσθε ἔξω γενόμενοι ἡ ἔνδον ἀπολαμβανόμενοι.

22. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὖ παριὼν ἐγένετο ὅπισθεν τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν, Ἀρταγέρσαν μὲν καὶ Φαρνοῦχον ἐκέλευσεν ἔχοντας τὴν τε τῶν πεζῶν χιλιοστὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἵππεων μένειν αὐτοῦ. Ἐπειδὰν δέ, ἔφη, αἰσθάνησθε ἐμοῦ ἐπιτιθεμένου τοῖς κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῖς καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖτε μαχεῖσθε δέ, ἔφη, πρὸς κέρας, ὥσπερ¹ ἀσθενέστατον στράτευμα γύγνεται, φάλαγγα δέ ἔχοντες, ὥσπερ ἀν ἴσχυρότατοι εἴητε. καὶ εἰσὶ μέν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῖς οἱ ἔσχατοι πάντως δὲ πρόετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν καμῆλων τάξιν, καὶ εὐ ἰστε ὅτι καὶ πρὶν μάχεσθαι γελοίους τοὺς πολεμίους θεάσεσθε.

23. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν παρήει ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος νομίσας ἡδη ἐγγύτερον εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν φάλαγγα σὺν ἥ αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο ἢ τὰ ἀνατεινόμενα κέρατα, ἥρε τοῖς κέρασι σημεῖον μηκέτι ἄνω πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ στραφῆναι. ὡς δέ ἔστησαν ἀντία

¹ ὥσπερ MSS., most Edd.; Castalio's suggestion ὥπερ is adopted by Marchant, Gemoll.

us God gives the victory first, if afterwards anything is left of any part of the enemy, let us all engage any force that still continues the fight."

21. Thus he spoke and passed on. And as he went along the flank, he came to the general in command of the chariots there and to him he said : " Yes, I am coming to help you ; but when you see us charging on the extremity of the enemy's wing, then do you try at the same time to break through their lines ; for you will be in a much surer position if you get clear through than if you are enclosed within their lines."

22. And as he passed on again and came behind the women's carriages, he ordered Artagerses and Pharnuchus with their respective regiments of infantry and cavalry to stay there. " But," said he, " when you see me charging against those opposite our right wing, do you also attack those opposite you. And you will be in a phalanx—the formation in which you would be strongest—and take the enemy on their flank, the position in which an army is weakest. And, as you see, their cavalry stands furthest out ; so by all means send against them the brigade of camels, and be assured that even before the battle begins you will see the enemy in a ridiculous plight."

23. When Cyrus had completed his round of the troops, he passed on to the right wing. And Croesus, thinking that the centre, which he commanded in person, was already nearer to the enemy than the wings that were spreading out beyond, gave a signal to his wings not to go out any further but to halt and face about. And when they had halted, and stood

Croesus
orders his
attack ;

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πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Κύρου στράτευμα ὁρῶντες, ἐσήμηνεν
αὐτοῖς πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. 24. καὶ
οὕτω δὴ προσῆσαν τρεῖς φάλαγγες ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου
στράτευμα, ἡ μὲν μία κατὰ πρόσωπου, τὰ δὲ δύο,
ἡ μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον·
ῶστε πολὺν φόβον παρεῖναι πάσῃ τῇ Κύρου
στρατιᾷ. ὥσπερ γὰρ μικρὸν πλινθίον ἐν μεγάλῳ
τεθέν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα πάντοθεν
περιείχετο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἵππεῦσι καὶ
ὅπλίταις καὶ πελτοφόροις καὶ τοξόταις καὶ ἄρ-
μασι πλὴν ἔξοπισθεν. 25. ὅμως δὲ ὡς¹ ὁ Κῦρος
[ἐπεὶ]² παρήγγειλεν, ἐστράφησαν πάντες ἀντι-
πρόσωποι τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ ἦν μὲν πολλὴ παν-
ταχόθεν συγῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον ὀκνεῖν· ἡνίκα δὲ
ἔδοξε τῷ Κύρῳ καιρὸς εἶναι, ἔξῆρχε παιᾶνα, συνε-
πήχησε δὲ πᾶς ὁ στρατός. 26. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῷ
Ἐνναλίῳ τε ἄμα ἐπηλάλαξαν καὶ ἔξανίσταται ὁ
Κῦρος, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τῶν ἵππων λαβὼν
πλαγίους τοὺς πολεμίους ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς τὴν ταχί-
στην συνεμίγνυν· οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ συντεταγμένοι
ταχὺ ἐφείποντο, καὶ περιεπτύσσοντο ἔνθεν καὶ
ἔνθεν, ὕστε πολὺ ἐπλεονέκτει· φάλαγγι γὰρ κατὰ
κέρας προσέβαλλεν ὕστε ταχὺ ἴσχυρὰ φυγὴ
ἐγένετο τοῖς πολεμίοις.

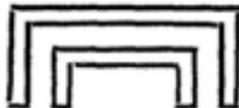
¹ ὡς Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; καὶ MSS., earlier Edd.

² ἐπεὶ MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

facing Cyrus's army, Croesus gave them the signal to advance against the foe. 24. And so the three phalanxes advanced upon the army of Cyrus, one from in front, the other two against his wings, one from the right, the other from the left ; in consequence, great fear came upon all his army. For just like a little tile set inside a large one,¹ Cyrus's army was encompassed by the enemy on every side, except the rear, with horsemen and hoplites, with targeteers and bowmen and chariots. 25. Still, when Cyrus gave the command, they all turned and faced the enemy. And deep silence reigned on every hand because of their apprehension as to what was coming. Then, when it seemed to Cyrus to be just the right time, he began the paean and all the army joined in the chant. 26. After it was finished, together they raised the battle-shout to Enyalius, and in that instant Cyrus dashed forward ; and at once he hurled his cavalry upon the enemy's flank and in a moment he was engaged with them hand to hand. With a rapid movement the infantry followed him in good order and began to envelop the enemy on this side and on that, so that he had them at a great disadvantage ; for he clashed with a phalanx against their flank ; and as a result, the enemy soon were in headlong flight.

but Cyrus
anticipates
him on the
right,

¹ The point of Xenophon's simile is clear, when we recall the marble tiling of the temple roofs of his time ; the situation was like this :



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27. Ὡς δὲ ἥσθετο Ἀρταγέρσης ἐν ἔργῳ ὅντα τὸν Κῦρον, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα, προεὶς τὰς καμήλους ὥσπερ Κῦρος ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ Ἰπποι αὐτὰς ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ οὐκ ἔδέχοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἕκφρονες γυγνόμενοι ἔφευγον, οἱ δ' ἔξηλλοντο, οἱ δ' ἐνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις. τοιαῦτα γὰρ πάσχουσιν Ἰπποι οὐπὸν καμήλων. 28. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταγέρσης συντεταγμένους ἔχων τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ταραττομένους ἐπέκειτο· καὶ τὰ ἄρματα δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἄμα ἐνέβαλλε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τὰ ἄρματα φεύγοντες οὐπὸν τῶν κατὰ κέρας ἐπομένων ἀπέθυνσκον, πολλοὶ δὲ τούτους φεύγοντες οὐπὸν τῶν ἀρμάτων ἡλίσκοντο.

29. Καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ἀναβοήσας, "Ανδρες φίλοι, ἔπεσθε, ἐνίει οὐδὲν φειδόμενος τῶν Ἰππων, ἀλλ' Ἰσχυρῶς ἔξαιμάττων τῷ κέντρῳ συνεξώρμησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρματηλάται. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρματα ἔφευγεν αὐτοὺς εὐθύς, τὰ μὲν καὶ ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς παραβάτας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπολιπόντα.

30. Ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀντικρὺ διάττων¹ εἰς τὴν τῶν Αἴγυπτίων φάλαγγα ἐμβάλλει· συνεισέβαλον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τεταγμένοι. πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοθι δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰσχυροτέρα φάλαγξ ἢ ὅταν ἐκ φίλων συμμάχων ἡθροισμένη ἦ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἔδηλωσεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔταῖροί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμοτρά-

¹ διάττων F, Hug, Marchant Gemoll; δι' αὐτῶν xzDV, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

27. As soon as Artagerses saw Cyrus in action, he delivered his attack on the enemy's left, putting forward the camels, as Cyrus had directed. But while the camels were still a great way off, the horses gave way before them ; some took fright and ran away, others began to rear, while others plunged into one another ; for such is the usual effect that camels produce upon horses. 28. And Artagerses, with his men in order, fell upon them in their confusion ; and at the same moment the chariots also charged on both the right and the left. And many in their flight from the chariots were slain by the cavalry following up their attack upon the flank, and many also trying to escape from the cavalry were caught by the chariots.

29. And Abradatas also lost no more time, but shouting, "Now, friends, follow me," he swept forward, showing no mercy to his horses but drawing blood from them in streams with every stroke of the lash. And the rest of the chariot-drivers also rushed forward with him. And the opposing chariots at once broke into flight before them ; some, as they fled, took up their dismounted¹ fighting men, others left theirs behind.

30. But Abradatas plunged directly through them and hurled himself upon the Egyptian phalanx ; and the nearest of those who were arrayed with him also joined in the charge. Now, it has been demonstrated on many other occasions that there is no stronger phalanx than that which is composed of comrades that are close friends ; and it was shown to be true on this occasion. For it was only the personal friends and mess-mates of Abradatas who pressed home the

¹ Compare III. iii. 60 ; VI. i. 27.

πεζοὶ συνεισέβαλον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἡνίοχοι ὡς εἰδον
ὑπομένοντας πολλῷ στίφει τοὺς Αἴγυπτους,
ἐξέκλιναν κατὰ τὰ φεύγοντα ἄρματα καὶ τούτοις
ἔφείποντο. 31. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀβραδάταν ἦ μὲν
ἐνέβαλλον, ἅτε οὐ δυναμένων διαχάσασθαι τῶν
Αἴγυπτών διὰ τὸ μένειν τοὺς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν
αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ὄρθοὺς τῇ ρύμῃ τῇ τῶν ἵππων
παίοντες ἀνέτρεπον, τοὺς δὲ πίπτοντας κατη-
λόων καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἵπποις καὶ
τροχοῖς.¹ δτού δὲ ἐπιλάβοιτο τὰ δρέπανα, πάντα
βίᾳ διεκόπτετο καὶ ὅπλα καὶ σώματα.

32. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀδιηγήτῳ τούτῳ ταράχῳ ὑπὸ²
τῶν παντοδαπῶν σωρευμάτων ἔξαλλομένων τῶν
τροχῶν ἐκπίπτει ὁ Ἀβραδάτας καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ
τῶν συνεισβαλόντων, καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔνταῦθα
ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι κατεκόπησαν καὶ ἀπέ-
θανον.

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι συνεπισπόμενοι, ἦ μὲν ὁ Ἀβρα-
δάτας ἐνέβαλε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ταύτῃ ἐπεισ-
πεσόντες τεταραγμένους ἐφόνευν, ἦ δὲ ἀπαθεῖς
ἐγένοντο οἱ Αἴγυπτοι, πολλοὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἦσαν,
ἐχώρουν ἐναντίοι τοῖς Πέρσαις. 33. ἔνθα δὴ
δεινὴ μάχη ἦν καὶ δοράτων καὶ ξυστῶν καὶ
μαχαιρῶν ἐπλεονέκτουν μέντοι οἱ Αἴγυπτοι καὶ
πλήθει καὶ τοὺς ὅπλοις. τά τε γὰρ δόρατα ἴσχυρὰ
καὶ μακρὰ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, αἵ τε ἀσπίδες
πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν θωράκων καὶ τῶν γέρρων καὶ
στεγάζουσι τὰ σώματα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὡθεῖσθαι
συνεργάζονται πρὸς τοῖς ὕμοις οὖσαι. συγκλεί-

¹ ἵπποις καὶ τροχοῖς Camerarius, Edd.; ἵπποις καὶ τροχούς MSS.

charge with him, while the rest of the charioteers, when they saw that the Egyptians with their dense throng withstood them, turned aside after the fleeing chariots and pursued them. 31. But in the place where Abradatas and his companions charged, the Egyptians could not make an opening for them because the men on either side of them stood firm; consequently, those of the enemy who stood upright were struck in the furious charge of the horses and overthrown, and those who fell were crushed to pieces by the horses and the wheels, they and their arms; and whatever was caught in the scythes—everything, arms and men, was horribly mangled.

32. As in this indescribable confusion the wheels bounded over the heaps of every sort, Abradatas and others of those who went with him into the charge were thrown to the ground, and there, though they proved themselves men of valour, they were cut down and slain.

Then the Persians, following up the attack at the point where Abradatas and his men had made their charge, made havoc of the enemy in their confusion; but where the Egyptians were still unharmed—and there were many such—they advanced to oppose the Persians. 33. Here, then, was a dreadful conflict with spears and lances and swords: The Egyptians, however, had the advantage both in numbers and in weapons; for the spears that they use even unto this day are long and powerful, and their shields cover their bodies much more effectually than corslets and targets, and as they rest against the shoulder they are a help in shoving. So, locking their shields to-

The
Persians
charge the
Egyptian
phalanx

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σαντες οὖν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχώρουν καὶ ἐώθουν.
34. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, ἅτε
ἐν ἄκραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ γέρρα ἔχοντες, ἀλλ᾽
ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχάζοντο παίοντες καὶ παιόμενοι,
ἔως ὑπὸ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐγένοντο. ἐπεὶ μέντοι
ἐνταῦθα ἥλθον, ἐπαίοντο αὐθις οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ
τῶν πύργων· καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ οὐκ εἴων φεύγειν
οὔτε τοὺς τοξότας οὔτε τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς, ἀλλ᾽
ἀνατεταμένοι τὰς μαχαίρας ἡνάγκαζον καὶ το-
ξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν. 35. ἦν δὲ πολὺς μὲν
ἄνδρῶν φόνος, πολὺς δὲ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν
παντοδαπῶν, πολλὴ δὲ βοὴ τῶν μὲν ἀνακα-
λούντων ἀλλήλους, τῶν δὲ παρακελευομένων, τῶν
δὲ θεοὺς ἐπικαλουμένων.

36. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κύρος διώκων τοὺς καθ'
αὐτὸν παραγίγνεται. ὡς δ' εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας
ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐωσμένους, ἥλγησέ τε καὶ γνοὺς
ὅτι οὐδαμῶς ἀν θάττον σχοίη τοὺς πολεμίους
τῆς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προόδου ἢ εἰ¹ εἰς τὸ ὅπισθεν
περιελάσειεν αὐτῶν, παραγγείλας ἐπεσθαι τοῖς
μεθ' αὐτοῦ περιήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ ὅπισθεν· καὶ
εἰσπεσόντες παίουσιν ἀφορῶντας² καὶ πολλοὺς
κατακαίνουσιν. 37. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς ἥσθοντο,
ἐβόων τε ὅτι ὅπισθεν οἱ πολέμοι καὶ ἐστρέφοντο
ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ φύρδην ἐμά-
χοντο καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς, πεπτωκὼς δέ τις
ὑπὸ τῷ Κύρου ἵππῳ καὶ πατούμενος παίει εἰς
τὴν γαστέρα τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ· ὁ
δὲ ἵππος πληγεὶς σφαδάζων ἀποσείεται τὸν

¹ εἰ Philelphus, Edd.; not in MSS.

² ἀφορῶντας MSS., Hug, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant;
ἀποροῦντας Madvig, Gemoll (*in their distress*).

gether, they advanced and shoved. 34. And because the Persians had to hold out their little shields clutched in their hands, they were unable to hold the line, but were forced back foot by foot, giving and taking blows, until they came up under cover of the moving towers. When they reached that point, the Egyptians in turn received a volley from the towers; and the forces in the extreme rear would not allow any retreat on the part of either archers or lancers, but with drawn swords they compelled them to shoot and hurl. 35. Then there was a dreadful carnage, an awful din of arms and missiles of every sort, and a great tumult of men, as they called to one another for aid, or exhorted one another, or invoked the gods.

36. At this juncture Cyrus came up in pursuit of the part that had been opposed to him; and when he saw that the Persians had been forced from their position, he was grieved; but as he realized that he could in no way check the enemy's progress more quickly than by marching around behind them, he ordered his men to follow him and rode around to the rear. There he fell upon the enemy as they faced the other way and smote them and slew many of them. 37. And when the Egyptians became aware of their position they shouted out that the enemy was in their rear, and amidst the blows they faced about. And then they fought promiscuously both foot and horse; and a certain man, who had fallen under Cyrus's horse and was under the animal's heels, struck the horse in the belly with his sword. And the horse thus wounded plunged convulsively and threw Cyrus

Cyrus falls
upon their
rear

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Κύρον. 38. ἔνθα δὴ ἔγνω ἀν τις ὅσου ἄξιον εἴη τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ἄρχοντα ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀνεβόησάν τε πάντες καὶ προσπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, ἐώθουν, ἐωθοῦντο, ἔπαιον, ἐπαίοντο. καταπηδήσας δέ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τῶν τοῦ Κύρου ὑπηρετῶν ἀναβάλλει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἵππον. 39. ὡς δ' ἀνέβη ὁ Κύρος, κατεῖδε πάντοθεν ἥδη παιομένους τὸν Αἰγυπτίους· καὶ γὰρ Τστάσπας ἥδη παρῆν σὺν τοῖς Περσῶν ἵππεῦσι καὶ Χρυσάντας. ἀλλὰ τούτους ἐμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκέτι εἴα εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἐκέλευεν.

'Ως δ' ἐγένετο περιελαύνων παρὰ τὰς μηχανάς, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων τινὰ καὶ κατασκέψασθαι εἴ πῃ καὶ ἄλλο τι μένοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μάχοιτο. 40. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβη, κατεῖδε μεστὸν τὸ πεδίον ἵππων, ἀνθρώπων, ἀρμάτων, φευγόντων, διωκόντων, κρατούντων, κρατουμένων· μένον δ' οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐδύνατο κατιδεῖν πλὴν τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἡποροῦντο, πάντοθεν κύκλον ποιησάμενοι, ὥστε ὄρασθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐκάθηντο· καὶ ἐποίουν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἔπασχον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δεινά.

41. Ἀγασθεὶς δὲ ὁ Κύρος αὐτοὺς καὶ οἰκτείρων ὅτι ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες δύντες ἀπώλλυντο, ἀνεχώριστε¹ πάντας τοὺς περιμαχομένους καὶ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα ἔτι εἴα. πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς κήρυκα ἐρωτῶν

¹ ἀνεχώριστε Edd.; ἀνεχώρησε MSS.

off. 38. Then one might have realized how much it is worth to an officer to be loved by his men ; for they all at once cried out and leaping forward they fought, shoved and were shoved, gave and received blows. And one of his aides-de-camp leaped down from his own horse and helped him mount upon it ; 39. and when Cyrus had mounted he saw that the Egyptians were now assailed on every side ; for Hystaspes also and Chrysantas had now come up with the Persian cavalry. But he did not permit them yet to charge into the Egyptian phalanx, but bade them shoot and hurl from a distance.

And when, as he rode round, he came to the engines, he decided to ascend one of the towers and take a view to see if anywhere any part of the enemy's forces were making a stand to fight. 40. And when he had ascended the tower, he looked down upon the field full of horses and men and chariots, some fleeing, some pursuing, some victorious, others vanquished ; but nowhere could he discover any division that was still standing its ground, except that of the Egyptians ; and they, inasmuch as they found themselves in a desperate condition, formed in a complete circle and crouched behind their shields, so that only their weapons were visible ; but they were no longer accomplishing anything, but were suffering very heavy loss.

41. And Cyrus, filled with admiration for their conduct and moved to pity for them that men as brave as they were should be slain, drew off all those who were fighting around the ring and allowed no one to fight any more. Then he sent a herald to them to ask whether they all wished to die for

Cyrus surveys the field from a movable tower

He spares the Egyptians

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πότερα βούλονται ἀπολέσθαι πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν προδεδωκότων αὐτοὺς ἢ σωθῆναι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι.

Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, Πῶς δὲ ἀνήμεις σωθείημεν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι;

42. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πάλιν ἔλεγεν, "Οτι τῇ μεῖν ὑμᾶς δρῶμεν μόνους καὶ μένοντας καὶ μάχεσθαι ἐθέλοντας.

'Αλλὰ τούντεῦθεν, ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, τί καλὸν ἀν ποιοῦντες σωθείημεν;

Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος αὖ πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν, [Εἰ τῶν τε συμμαχομένων μηδένα προδόντες σωθείητε]¹ Τά τε δπλα παραδόντες φίλοι τε γενόμενοι τοῖς αἴρουμένοις ὑμᾶς σῶσαι, ἔξὸν ἀπολέσαι.

43. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπήροντο, Ήν δὲ γενώμεθά σοι φίλοι, τί ἡμῖν ἀξιώσεις χρῆσθαι;

'Απεκρίνατο ὁ Κῦρος, Εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ εὖ πάσχειν.

'Επηρώτων πάλιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, Τίνα εὐεργεσίαν;

Πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος, Μισθὸν μὲν ὑμῖν δοίην ἀν πλείονα ἢ νῦν ἐλαμβάνετε δσον ἀν χρόνον πόλεμος ἢ· εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμῶν μένειν παρ' ἐμοὶ χώραν τε δώσω καὶ πόλεις καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ οἰκέτας.

44. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ Κροῖσον συστρατεύειν ἀφελεῖν σφίσιν ἐδεήθησαν τούτῳ γάρ μόνῳ γυνώσκεσθαι ἔφασαν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα συνομολογήσαντες ἔδοσαν πίστιν καὶ ἔλαβον.

¹ Εἰ . . . σωθείητε MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll [*If you could save your lives without betraying any of your friends*].

those who had treacherously deserted them or to save their lives and at the same time be accounted brave men.

"How could we save our lives," they answered, "and at the same time be accounted brave men?"

42. "You can," Cyrus replied, "because we are witnesses that you are the only ones who stood your ground and were willing to fight."

"Well," answered the Egyptians, "granting that, what can we do consistently with honour to save our lives?"

"You could surrender your arms," Cyrus answered again, "and become friends of those who choose to save you, when it is in their power to destroy you."

43. "And if we become your friends," they asked on hearing that, "how will you see fit to deal with us?"

"I will do you favours and expect favours from you," answered Cyrus.

"What sort of favours?" asked the Egyptians in turn.

"As long as the war continues," Cyrus made answer to this, "I would give you larger pay than you were now receiving; and when peace is made, to those of you who care to stay with me I will give lands and cities and wives and servants." and wins their allegiance

44. On hearing this, the Egyptians begged to be excused from taking part in any campaign against Croesus, for with him alone, they said, they were acquainted; all other stipulations they accepted, and gave and received pledges of good faith.

45. Καὶ οἱ Ἀλγύπτιοί τε οἱ καταμείναντες τότε
ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλεῖ πιστοῦ διαμένουσι, Κῦρος τε
πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, τὰς μὲν ἄνω, αὖτις
πόλεις Αἰγυπτίων καλοῦνται, Λάρισαν δὲ καὶ
Κυλλήνην παρὰ Κύμην πλησίον θαλάττης, ἃς ἔτι
καὶ νῦν οἱ ἀπὸ ἐκείνων ἔχουσι.

Ταῦτα δὲ διαπρᾶξάμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἥδη σκοταῖος
ἀναγαγὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Θυμβράροις.

46. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τῶν πολεμίων Αἰγύπτιοι
μόνοι ηὔδοκίμησαν, τῶν δὲ σὺν Κύρῳ τὸ Περσῶν
ἰππικὸν κράτιστον ἔδοξεν εἶναι· ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
διαμένει ἡ δύπλισις ἦν τότε Κῦρος τοῖς ιππεῦσι
κατεσκεύασεν.

47. Ηὔδοκίμησε δὲ ἴσχυρῶς καὶ τὰ δρεπανη-
φόρα ἄρματα· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει
τὸ πολεμιστήριον τῷ ἀεὶ βασιλεύοντι.

48. Αἱ μέντοι κάμηλοι ἐφόβουν μόνον τοὺς
ἴππους, οὐ μέντοι κατέκαινόν γε οἱ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν
ἰππεῖς,¹ οὐδὲν αὐτοί γε ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ ιππέων·
οὐδεὶς γάρ ίππος ἐπέλαζε. 49. καὶ χρήσιμον μὲν
ἔδόκει εἶναι· ἀλλὰ γάρ οὔτε τρέφειν οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει
καλὸς κάγαθὸς κάμηλον ὥστ' ἐποχεῖσθαι, οὔτε
μελετᾶν ὡς πολεμήσων ἀπὸ τούτων. οὕτω δὴ
ἀπολαβοῦσαι πάλιν τὸ ἕαυτῶν σχῆμα ἐν τοῖς
σκευοφόροις διάγουσι.

¹ Ιππεῖς MSS., most Edd.; Ιππέας Gemoll.

45. And the Egyptians who then stayed in the country have continued loyal subjects to the king even unto this day ; and Cyrus gave them cities, some in the interior, which even to this day are called Egyptian cities, and besides these Larissa and Cyllene near Cyme on the coast ; and their descendants dwell there even unto this day.

When he had accomplished this, it was already dark ; and Cyrus led back his forces and encamped in Thymbrara.

46. The Egyptians were the only ones of all the enemy that distinguished themselves in the battle, while of those under Cyrus the Persian cavalry seemed to be the most efficient. And therefore the equipment which Cyrus had then provided for his cavalry continues in use even to our own times.

47. The scythe-bearing chariots also won extraordinary distinction, so that this military device also has been retained even to our day by each successive king.

48. The camels, however, did nothing more than frighten the horses ; their riders could neither kill any one nor be killed by any of the enemy's cavalry, for not a horse would come near them.

49. What they did do seemed useful enough ; but be that as it may, no gentleman is willing to keep a camel for riding or to practise for fighting in war upon one. And so they have again taken their proper position and do service among the pack-animals.

Observations on the battle

II

1. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι, ὡσπερ ἔδει, ἐκοιμήθησαν. Κροῖσος μέντοι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεων ἔφευγε σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι τὰ δ' ἄλλα φύλα ὅποι¹ ἔδύνατο προσωτάτῳ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῆς ἐπ' οἰκον ὁδοῦ ἔκαστος ἀπεχώρει.

2. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεις ἦγε Κῦρος. ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Σάρδεσι, τάς τε μηχανὰς ἀνίστη ὡς προσβαλῶν πρὸς τὸ τείχος καὶ κλίμακας παρεσκευάζετο. 3. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν κατὰ τὰ ἀποτομώτατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι τοῦ Σαρδιανῶν ἐρύματος τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀναβιβάζει Χαλδαίους τε καὶ Πέρσας. ἡγήσατο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ Πέρσης δοῦλος γεγενημένος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τινὸς φρουρῶν καὶ καταμεμαθηκὼς κατάβασιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀνάβασιν τὴν αὐτήν.

4. Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι εἶχετο τὰ ἄκρα, πάντες δὴ ἔφευγον οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὅποι¹ ἔδύνατο ἔκαστος τῆς πόλεως. Κῦρος δὲ ἀματῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσῆρε εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδένα κινεῖσθαι. 5. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος κατακλεισάμενος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις Κύρου ἐβδάος δὲ Κῦρος τοῦ μὲν Κροίσου φύλακας κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν ἐχομένην ἄκραν ὡς εἶδε τοὺς μὲν Πέρσας φυλάττοντας τὴν ἄκραν, ὡσπερ ἔδει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Χαλδαίων ὅπλα ἔρημα, κατεδεδραμήκεσαν γὰρ ἀρπασόμενοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν

¹ δποι xzE, most Edd.; δπη C.

II

1. WHEN Cyrus and his men had finished dinner and stationed guards, as was necessary, they went to rest. As for Croesus and his army, they fled straight towards Sardis, while the other contingents got away, each man as far as he could under cover of the night on his way toward home.

2. When daylight came, Cyrus led his army straight on against Sardis. And as soon as he came up to the walls of the city, he set up his engines as if intending to assault it and made ready his scaling ladders. 3. But though he did this, in the course of the following night he sent some Chaldaeans and Persians to climb up by what was considered the most precipitous side of the Sardian citadel. The way was shown them by a Persian who had been the slave of one of the guards of the acropolis and had discovered a way down to the river and up again by the same route.

4. When it became known that the citadel was taken, all the Lydians immediately fled from the walls to whatever part of the city they could. And Cyrus at daybreak entered the city and gave orders that not a man of his should stir from his post. 5. But Croesus shut himself up in his palace and called for Cyrus. Cyrus, however, left behind a guard to watch Croesus, while he himself drew off his army to the citadel now in his possession; for he saw that the Persians were holding guard over it, as it was their duty to do, but that the quarters of the Chaldaeans were deserted, for they had run down into

The
Chaldaeans'
breach of
discipline

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οίκιῶν, εὐθὺς συνεκάλεσεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος ώς τάχιστα. 6. Οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ἔφη, ἀνασχοίμην πλεονεκτοῦντας ὁρῶν τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας. καὶ εὖ μέν, ἔφη, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι παρεσκευαζόμην ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐμοὶ συστρατευομένους πᾶσι Χαλδαίοις μακαριστοὺς ποιῆσαι· νῦν δ', ἔφη, μὴ θαυμάζετε ἣν τις καὶ ἀπιοῦσιν ὑμῖν κρείττων ἐντύχη.

7. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἔδεισάν τε καὶ ἵκέτευον παύσασθαι ὀργιζόμενον καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀποδώσειν ἔφασαν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δέοιτο. Ἄλλ' εἴ με, ἔφη, βούλεσθε παύσασθαι ἀχθόμενον, ἀπόδοτε πάντα ὅσα ἐλάβετε τοῖς διαφυλάξασι τὴν ἄκραν. ἦν γὰρ αἰσθωταὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ὅτι πλεονεκτοῦσιν οἱ εὔτακτοι γενόμενοι, πάντα· μοι καλῶς ἔξει.

8. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Χαλδαῖοι οὕτως ἐποίησαν ώς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κῦρος· καὶ ἔλαβον οἱ πειθόμενοι πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα χρήματα. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος καταστρατοπεδεύσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, ὃπου ἐδόκει ἐπιτηδειότατον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις παρήγγειλε καὶ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.

9. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ¹ τὸν Κροῖσον. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος ώς εἶδε τὸν Κῦρον, Χαῖρε, ὡς δέσποτα, ἔφη· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ τύχη καὶ ἔχειν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δίδωσι σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ προσαγορεύειν.

10. Καὶ σύ γε, ἔφη, ὡς Κροῖσε, ἐπείπερ ἄνθρω-

¹ αὐτῷ F, Edd.; αὐτῷ xxDV.

the city to get plunder from the houses. He at once called their officers together and told them to leave his army with all speed. 6. "For," said he, "I could not endure to see men who are guilty of insubordination better off than others. And let me tell you," he added, "that I was getting ready to make you Chaldaeans who have been helping in my campaigns objects of envy in the eyes of all other Chaldaeans; but, as it is, you need not be surprised if some one who is your superior in strength should fall in with you, even as you go away."

7. When they heard this, the Chaldaeans were afraid; they besought him to lay aside his wrath and promised to give up their plunder. But he said he did not want it. "But," said he, "if you wish me to forget my displeasure, surrender all that you have taken to those who have not relaxed their guard of the citadel. For if the rest of the soldiers find out that those who have been obedient to orders are better off than the rest, everything will be as I wish."

Good discipline rewarded

8. The Chaldaeans, accordingly, did as Cyrus bade; and the obedient received a large amount of spoil of every description. And Cyrus encamped his men in that part of the city where he deemed it most convenient, ordering them, to stay in their quarters and take luncheon there.

9. When he had attended to this, he ordered Croesus to be brought before him. And when Croesus saw Cyrus, he said: "I salute you, my sovereign lord; for fortune grants that henceforth you should bear this title and I address you by it."

Croesus before Cyrus

10. "And I you, Croesus; for we are both men.

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ποὶ γέ ἐσμεν ἀμφότεροι. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, ὁ Κροῖσε,
ἄρ' ἂν τί μοι ἐθελήσαις συμβουλεύσας;

Καὶ βουλοίμην γ' ἄν, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, ἀγαθόν τί
σοι εὑρεῖν τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν οἷμαι ἀγαθὸν κάμοι
γενέσθαι.

11. Ἀκουσον τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὁ Κροῖσε· ἐγὼ γὰρ
ὅρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλὰ πεπονηκότας καὶ
πολλὰ κεκινδυνευκότας καὶ νῦν νομίζοντας πόλιν
ἔχειν τὴν πλουσιωτάτην ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ μετὰ Βαβυ-
λῶνα, ἀξιῶ ὡφεληθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας. γι-
γνώσκω γάρ, ἔφη, δτι εἰ μὴ τίνα καρπὸν λήψονται
τῶν πόνων, οὐ δυνήσομαι αὐτοὺς πολὺν χρόνον
πειθομένους ἔχειν. διαρπάσαι μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς
ἔφεναι τὴν πόλιν οὐ βούλομαι τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν
νομίζω ἂν διαφθαρῆναι, ἐν τε τῇ ἀρπαγῇ εὖ οἶδ
δτι οἱ πονηρότατοι πλεονεκτήσειαν ἄν.

12. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἔλεξεν, Ἄλλ
ἐμέ, ἔφη, ἕασον λέξαι πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐγὼ Λυδῶν
ἔλθω¹ δτι διαπέπραγμαι παρὰ σοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι
ἀρπαγὴν μηδὲ ἔᾶσαι ἀφανισθῆναι παῖδας καὶ
γυναῖκας· ὑπεσχόμην δέ σοι ἀντὶ τούτων ἡ μὴν
παρ' ἐκόντων Λυδῶν ἔσεσθαι πᾶν ὅ τι καλὸν
κἀγαθόν ἔστιν ἐν Σάρδεσιν. 13. ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα
ἀκούσωσιν, οἴδ' δτι ἥξει σοι πᾶν ὅ τι ἔστιν
ἐνθάδε καλὸν κτῆμα ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ· καὶ
ὅμοίως εἰς νέωτα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πάλιν σοι
πλήρης ἡ πόλις ἔσται· ἦν δὲ διαρπάσης, καὶ αἱ
τέχναι σοι, ἃς πηγάς φασι τῶν καλῶν εἶναι,
διεφθαρμέναι ἔσονται. 14. ἔξεσται δέ σοι ἰδόντι
ταῦτα ἐλθόντα ἔτι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς βουλεύ-

¹ ἔλθω Hug, Marchant; (ε)θέλω MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe,
Breitenbach; θλωμαὶ Gemoll.

But, Croesus," he added, "would you be willing to give me a bit of advice?"

"Aye, Cyrus," said he; "I wish I could find something of practical value to say to you. For that, I think, would prove good for me as well."

11. "Listen, then, Croesus," said he. "I observe that my soldiers have gone through many toils and dangers and now are thinking that they are in possession of the richest city in Asia, next to Babylon; and I think that they deserve some reward. For I know that if they do not reap some fruit of their labours, I shall not be able to keep them in obedience very long. Now, I do not wish to abandon the city to them to plunder; for I believe that then the city would be destroyed, and I am sure that in the pillaging the worst men would get the largest share."

12. "Well," said Croesus on hearing these words, "permit me to say to any Lydians that I meet that I have secured from you the promise not to permit any pillaging nor to allow the women and children to be carried off, and that I, in return for that, have given you my solemn promise that you should get from the Lydians of their own free will everything there is of beauty or value in Sardis. 13. For when they hear this, I am sure that whatever fair possession man or woman has will come to you; and next year you will again find the city just as full of wealth as it is now; whereas, if you pillage it completely, you will find even the industrial arts utterly ruined; and they say that these are the fountain of wealth. 14. But when you have seen what is brought in, you will still have the privilege of deciding about

Cyrus pro-
poses to
spare Sardis

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σασθαι. πρῶτον δ', ἔφη, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς θησαυροὺς πέμπε καὶ παραλαμβανόντων¹ οἱ σοὶ φύλακες παρὰ τῶν ἐμῶν φυλάκων.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἄπαντα οὕτω συνήνεσε ποιεῖν ὁ Κῦρος ὥσπερ ἔλεξεν ὁ Κροῖσος.

15. Τάδε δέ μοι πάντως, ἔφη, ὁ Κροῖσε, λέξου πῶς σοι ἀποβέβηκε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίου σοὶ γὰρ δὴ λέγεται πάνυ γε τεθεραπεῦσθαι ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ σε πάντα ἐκείνῳ πειθόμενον πράττειν.

16. Ἐβουλόμην ἄν, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, οὕτως ἔχειν· νῦν δὲ πάντα τάναντία εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πράττων προσηνέχθην τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

Πῶς δέ; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· δίδασκε· πάνυ γὰρ παράδοξα λέγεις.

17. "Οτι πρῶτον μέν, ἔφη, ἀμελήσας ἐρωτᾶν τὸν θεόν, εἴ τι ἐδεόμην, ἀπεπειρώμην αὐτοῦ εἰ δύναιτο ἀληθεύειν. τοῦτο δ', ἔφη, μὴ ὅτι θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωποι καλοὶ κάγαθοί, ἐπειδὰν γνῶσιν ἀπιστούμενοι, οὐ φιλοῦσι τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας.

18. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔγνω καὶ μάλ' ἄποτα ἐμοῦ ποιοῦντος, καίπερ² πρόσω Δελφῶν ἀπέχοντος, οὕτω δὴ πέμπω περὶ παιδῶν. 19. ὁ δέ μοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγὼ πολλὰ μὲν πέμπων ἀναθήματα χρυσᾶ, πολλὰ δ' ἀργυρᾶ, πάμπολλα δὲ θύων ἐξιλασάμην ποτὲ αὐτόν, ως ἐδόκουν, τότε δὴ μοι ἀποκρίνεται ἐρωτῶντι τί ἄν μοι ποιήσαντι παιδεῖς γένοιντο· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἔσοιντο. 20. καὶ ἐγένοντο μέν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐψεύσατο,

¹ παραλαμβανόντων Bishop, Dindorf, Edd.; παραλαμβανέτωσαν MSS.

² καίπερ Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; καὶ MSS., earlier Edd.

plundering the city. And first of all," he went on, "send to my treasuries and let your guards obtain from my guards what is there."

All this, accordingly, Cyrus agreed to have done as Croesus suggested.

15. "But pray tell me, Croesus," he resumed, "what has come of your responses from the oracle at Delphi? For it is said that Apollo has received much service from you and that everything that you do is done in obedience to him." Croesus and the Pythian oracle

16. "I would it were so, Cyrus," he answered. "But as it is, I have from the very beginning behaved toward Apollo in a way contrary to all that he has advised."

"How so?" asked Cyrus; "please explain; for your statement sounds very strange."

17. "At first," he answered, "instead of asking the god for the particular favour I needed, I proceeded to put him to the test to see if he could tell the truth. And when even men, if they are gentlemen—to say nothing of a god—discover that they are mistrusted, they have no love for those who mistrust them. 18. However, as he knew even about the gross absurdities I was engaged in, far as I was from Delphi,¹ I then sent to him to inquire if I should have male issue. 19. And at first he did not even answer me; but when I had at last propitiated him, as I thought, by sending many offerings of gold and many of silver and by sacrificing very many victims, then he did answer my question as to what I should do to have sons; and he said that I should have them. 20. And I had; for not even in this did he speak falsely; but those

¹ See Index, s.v. Croesus, note.

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γενόμενοι δὲ οὐδὲν ὕνησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κωφὸς ὡν
διετέλει, ὁ δὲ ἄριστος γενόμενος ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ βίου
ἀπώλετο. πιεζόμενος δὲ ταῖς περὶ τοὺς παιδας
συμφορᾶς πάλιν πέμπω καὶ ἐπερωτῶ τὸν θεὸν τί¹
ἄν ποιῶν τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐνδαιμονέστατα δια-
τελέσαιμι· ὁ δέ μοι ἀπεκρίνατο·

Σαυτὸν γυγνώσκων εὐδαίμων, Κροῖσε, περάσεις.

21. ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας τὴν μαντείαν ἡσθην· ἐνόμιζον
γὰρ τὸ ῥῆστόν μοι αὐτὸν προστάξαντα τὴν εὐδαι-
μονίαν διδόναι. ἄλλους μὲν γὰρ γυγνώσκειν τοὺς
μὲν οἴον τ' εἶναι τοὺς δ' οὐ· ἑαυτὸν δὲ δστις ἔστι
πάντα τινὰ ἐνόμιζον ἀνθρωπον εἰδέναι.

22. Καὶ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ χρόνον, ἔως μὲν
εἶχον ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλουν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ
παιδὸς θάνατον ταῖς τύχαις· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνεπείσθην
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς στρατεύεσθαι, εἰς
πάντα κίνδυνον ἥλθον· ἐσώθην μέντοι οὐδὲν κα-
κὸν λαβών. οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὐδὲ τάδε τὸν θεόν.
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔγνων ἐμαυτὸν μὴ ἴκανὸν ὑμῖν μάχεσθαι,
ἀσφαλῶς σὺν τῷ θεῷ ἀπῆλθον καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ
σὺν ἐμοί.

23. Νῦν δ' αὖ πάλιν ὑπό τε πλούτου τοῦ
παρόντος διαθρυπτόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δεομένων
μου προστάτην γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δώρων ὡν
ἔδίδοσάν μοι καὶ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων,¹ οἵ με κολακεύ-
οντες ἔλεγον ὡς εἰ ἐγὼ ἐθέλοιμι ἄρχειν, πάντες ἄν
ἐμοὶ πείθοιντο καὶ μέγιστος ἄν εἴην ἀνθρώπων,

¹ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δώρων . . . ἀνθρώπων bracketed by Gemoll.

that were born to me have been no joy to me. For the one has continued dumb until now, and the other, the better of the two, was killed in the flower of his youth. Then, overwhelmed by the afflictions I suffered in connection with my sons, I sent again and inquired of the god what I should do to pass the rest of my life most happily ; and he answered me :

The secret
of a happy
life

‘Knowing thyself, O Croesus—thus shalt thou live and be happy.’¹

21. And when I heard this response, I was glad ; for I thought that it was the easiest task in the world that he was laying upon me as the condition to happiness. For in the case of others, it is possible to know some ; and some, one cannot know ; but I thought that everybody knows who and what he himself is.

22. “For the succeeding years, as long as I lived at peace, I had no complaint to make of my fortunes after the death of my son. But when I was persuaded by the Assyrian king to take the field against you, I fell into every sort of danger. However, I was saved without having suffered any harm. Here again I have no fault to find with the god. For when I recognized that I was not your match in battle, with his help I got off in safety, both I and my men.

23. “And lately again, spoiled by the wealth I had and by those who were begging me to become their leader, by the gifts they gave me and by the people who flattered me, saying that if I would consent to take command they would all obey me and I should be the greatest of men—puffed up by

¹ There is a reference to the famous inscription on the temple at Delphi—γνῶθι σεαυτόν.

ὑπὸ τοιούτων δὲ λόγων ἀναφυσώμενος, ώς εἶλοντό με πάντες οἱ κύκλῳ βασιλεῖς προστάτην τοῦ πολέμου, ὑπεδεξάμην τὴν στρατηγίαν, ώς ἵκανὸς ὃν μέγιστος γενέσθαι, ἀγνοῶν ἄρα ἐμαυτόν, 24. ὅτι σοὶ ἀντιπολεμεῖν ἵκανὸς φύμην εἶναι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ θεῶν γεγονότι, ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ βασιλέων πεφυκότι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦντι· τῶν δ' ἐμῶν προγόνων ἀκούω τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα ἄμα τε βασιλέα καὶ ἐλεύθερον γενέσθαι. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀγνοήσας δικαίως, ἔφη, ἔχω τὴν δίκην.

25. Ἀλλὰ νῦν δῆ, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρος, γυγνώσκω μὲν ἐμαυτόν· σὺ δ', ἔφη, ἔτι δοκεῖς ἀληθεύειν τὸν Ἀπόλλω ώς εὐδαιμων ἔσομαι γυγνώσκων ἐμαυτόν; σὲ δὲ ἐρωτῶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἄριστ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖς εἰκάσαι τοῦτο ἐν τῷ παρόντι· καὶ γάρ δύνασαι ποιῆσαι.

26. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε, Βουλήν μοι δὸς περὶ τούτου, ὁ Κροῖσε· ἐγὼ γάρ σου ἐννοῶν τὴν πρόσθεν εὐδαιμονίαν οἰκτείρω τέ σε καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ἥδη γυναικά τε ἔχειν ἦν εἶχες καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, ἀκούω γάρ σοι εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας καὶ τράπεζαν σὺν οἴλαπερ ἔζητε.¹ μάχας δέ σαι καὶ πολέμους ἀφαιρῶ.

27. Μὰ Δία μηδὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κροῖσος, σὺ ἐμοὶ ἔτι βουλεύου ἀποκρίνασθαι περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐδαιμονίας· ἐγὼ γάρ ἥδη σοι λέγω, ἦν ταῦτά μοι ποιήσης ἂν λέγεις, ὅτι ἦν ἄλλοι τε μακαριωτάτην

¹ ἔζητε Edd.; ἔζωτε xzDV; ζωτε F.

such words, when all the princes round about chose me to be their leader in the war, I accepted the command, deeming myself fit to be the greatest; but, as it seems, I did not know myself. 24. For I thought I was capable of carrying on war against you; but I was no match for you; for you are in the first place a scion of the gods and in the second place the descendant of an unbroken line of kings, and finally you have been practising virtue from your childhood on, while the first of my ancestors to wear a crown, I am told, was at the same time king and freedman.¹ Therefore, as I was thus without knowledge, I have my just deserts.

25. "But, Cyrus," said he, "I know myself now. But do you think Apollo's declaration still holds true, that if I know myself I shall be happy? I ask you this for the reason that under the present circumstances it seems to me you can judge best; for you are also in a position to fulfil it."

26. "You must give me time to consider this, Cyrus," Cyrus replied; "for when I think of your happiness hitherto, I am sorry for you, and I now restore to you your wife, whom you once had, your daughters (for I understand you have daughters), your friends, your servants, and the table that you and yours used to enjoy. But wars and battles I must forbid you."

27. "In the name of Zeus," said Croesus, "pray do not trouble yourself further to answer me in regard to my happiness; for I assure you even now that if you do for me what you say you will, I, too, shall have and enjoy that life which others have always

¹ Gyges, the shepherd king of Lydia.

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ἐνόμιζον εἶναι βιοτὴν καὶ ἐγὼ συνεγίγνωσκον
αὐτοῖς, ταύτην καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ἔχων διάξω.

28. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε, Τίς δὴ ὁ ἔχων ταύτην
τὴν μακαρίαν βιοτήν;

Ἡ ἐμὴ γυνή, εἶπεν, ὡς Κῦρε· ἐκείνη γὰρ τῶν
μὲν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν μαλακῶν καὶ εὐφροσυνῶν
πασῶν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἵσον μετεῖχε, φροντίδων δὲ ὅπως
ταῦτα ἔσται καὶ πολέμου καὶ μάχης οὐ μετῆν
αὐτῇ. οὕτω δὴ καὶ σὺ δοκεῖς ἐμὲ κατασκευάζειν
ῶσπερ ἐγὼ ἦν ἐφίλονν μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε
τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄλλα μοι δοκῶ χαριστήρια διφει-
λῆσειν.

29. Ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ
ἔθαύμασε μὲν τὴν εὐθυμίαν, ἥγε δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ὅποι
καὶ αὐτὸς πορεύοιτο, εἴτε ἄρα καὶ χρήσιμόν τι
νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι εἴτε καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον οὕτως
ἥγονται.

III

1. Καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστε-
ραίᾳ καλέσας ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἥγε-
μόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔταξε
τοὺς θησαυροὺς παραλαμβάνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκέλευσεν
ὅπόσα παραδοίη Κροῖσος χρήματα, πρῶτον μὲν
τοὺς θεοὺς ἔξελεῖν ὅποι ἀν οἱ μάγοι ἔξηγῶνται,
ἔπειτα τὰλλα χρήματα παραδεχομένους ἐν ζυγά-
στροις στήσαντας ἐφ' ἀμάξῶν ἐπισκευάσαι καὶ
διαλαχόντας τὰς ἀμάξας κομίζειν ὅποιπερ ἀν αὐτοὶ

considered most blissful ; and I have agreed with them."

28. "And who is it," asked Cyrus, "that enjoys such a life of bliss?"

"My wife, Cyrus," said he. "For she always shared equally with me my wealth and the luxuries and all the good cheer that it brought, but she had no share in the anxieties of securing it nor in war or battle. So, then, you seem to be putting me in the same position as I did her whom I loved more than all the world, so that I feel that I shall owe Apollo new thank-offerings."

29. At hearing these words Cyrus wondered at his good spirits, and after that he always used to take Croesus with him wherever he went, whether, as may well have been, because he thought Croesus was of some service to him, or whether he considered that this was the safer course.

III

1. Such was their interview, and then they went to rest. And on the following day Cyrus summoned his friends and the general officers of his army. He appointed some of them to take charge of the treasures and others he ordered first to select from the valuables that Croesus delivered such a portion for the gods as the magi should designate ; the rest they should then take into their own charge and put in chests, and these they should pack upon the wagons ; they should then divide the wagons by lot and convey them whithersoever they themselves might go ; then, when the time came, the treasure

Cyrus takes
the Lydian
treasures

XENOPHON.

πορεύωνται, ἵνα ὅπου καιρὸς εἴη διαλαμβάνοιεν ἔκαστοι τὰ ἄξια. 2. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν.

'Ο δὲ Κῦρος καλέσας τινὰς τῶν παρόντων ὑπηρετῶν, Εἴπατέ μοι, ἔφη, ἔωρακέ τις ὑμῶν Ἀβραδάταν; Θαυμάζω γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι πρόσθεν θαυμάζων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς νῦν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται.

3.. Τῶν οὖν ὑπηρετῶν τις ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ τοις Ωδέσποτα, οὐ ζῆ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανεν ἐμβαλὼν τὸ ἄρμα εἰς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πλὴν τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ ἔξεκλιναν, ὡς φασιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ στῖφος εἶδον τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. 4. καὶ νῦν γε ἔφη, λέγεται αὐτοῦ ἡ γυνὴ ἀνελομένη τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ἐνθεμένη εἰς τὴν ἄρμάμαξαν, ἐν ὅπερ αὐτὴ ὠχεῖτο, προσκεκομικέναι αὐτὸν ἐνθάδε ποι πρὸς τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν. 5. καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὔνοούχους καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ ὁρύττειν φασὶν ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς θήκην τῷ τελευτῆσαντι· τὴν δὲ γυναικα λέγουσιν ὡς κάθηται χαμαὶ κεκοσμηκυῖα οἷς εἰχε τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι.

6. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαίσατο ἄρα τὸν μηρὸν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον λαβὼν χιλίους ἵππεας ἥλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος. 7. Γαδάταν δὲ καὶ Γωβρύαν ἐκέλευσεν δὲ τι δύναιντο λαβόντας καλὸν κόσμημα ἄνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τετελευτηκότι μεταδιώκειν· καὶ δόστις εἶχε τὰς ἐπομένας ἀγέλας, καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἵππους εἶπε τούτῳ καὶ ἄμα πρόβατα πολλὰ ἐλαύνειν ὅπου¹ ἀν αὐτὸν πυνθάνηται δυτα, ὡς ἐπισφαγείη τῷ Ἀβραδάτᾳ.

¹ ὅπου Priscian, Hug, Gemoll; ὅπῃ xG, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant; ὅποι yAHV.

should be divided, and each man should receive his share according to his deserts. 2. The officers, accordingly, proceeded to follow his instructions.

And when he had called to him certain of his aides who were present, Cyrus said : "Tell me, has any one of you seen Abradatas? For I wonder why, in view of the fact that he used often to come to us, he is now nowhere to be seen."

3. "Sire," answered one of the aides, "he is no longer alive, but he fell in the battle as he hurled his chariot against the ranks of the Egyptians, while the rest, they say, all but himself and his companions, turned aside when they saw the dense host of the Egyptians. 4. And even now his wife, I am told, has taken up his body for burial, placed it in the carriage in which she herself used to ride, and brought it to some place here by the River Pactolus. 5. And his eunuchs and servants, so they say, are digging a grave upon a certain hill for his dead body. But his wife, they say, has decked her husband with what she possessed and now sits upon the ground, holding his head in her lap."
He learns
the death
Abradatas

6. Upon hearing this, Cyrus smote his thigh, mounted his horse at once, and rode with a regiment of cavalry to the scene of sorrow. 7. He left orders for Gadatas and Gobryas to follow him with the most beautiful ornaments they could get for the man, who had fallen beloved and brave. And he ordered those who had in charge the herds that were taken with the army to bring both cattle and horses and many sheep besides to the place where they should hear that he was, that he might sacrifice them in honour of Abradatas.

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8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδε τὴν γυναῖκα χαμαλ καθημένην καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν κείμενον, ἐδάκρυσέ τε ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ εἶπε, Φεῦ, ὁ ἀγαθὴ καὶ πιστὴ ψυχῆ, οἴχει δὴ ἀπολιπὼν ἡμᾶς; καὶ ἄμα ἐδεξιοῦτο αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐπηκολούθησεν· ἀπεκέκοπτο γὰρ κοπίδι ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. 9. ὁ δὲ ἵδων πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἥλγησε· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀνωδύρατο καὶ δεξαμένη δὴ παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου ἐφίλησε τε τὴν χεῖρα καὶ πάλιν ὡς οἶόν τ' ἦν προσήρμοσε, καὶ εἶπε, 10. Καὶ τἄλλα τοι, ὁ Κύρε, οὕτως ἔχει· ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ σε ὄραν; καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, οἴδ' ὅτι δὶ ἐμὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔπαθεν, ἵσως δὲ καὶ διὰ σέ, ὁ Κύρε, οὐδὲν ἥππον. ἐγώ τε γὰρ ἡ μώρα πολλὰ διεκελευόμην αὐτῷ οὕτω ποιεῖν, ὅπως σοι φίλος ἀξιος γενήσοιτο.¹ αὐτός τε οἴδ' ὅτι οὗτος οὐ τοῦτο ἐνενόει ὃ τι πείσοιτο, ἀλλὰ τί ἂν σοι ποιήσας χαρίσαιτο. καὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμέμπτως τετελεύτηκεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡ παρακελευομένη ζώσα παρακάθημαι.

11. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος χρόνον μέν τινα σιωπῆ κατεδάκρυσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐφθέγξατο, 'Αλλ' οὗτος μὲν δή, ὁ γύναι, ἔχει τὸ κάλλιστον τέλος· τικῶν γὰρ τετελεύτηκε· σὺ δὲ λαβοῦσα τοῖσδε ἐπικόσμει αὐτὸν τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ· παρῆν δὲ ὁ Γωβρύας καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας πολὺν καὶ καλὸν κόσμον φέροντες· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἵσθι ὅτι οὐδὲ τἄλλα ἄτιμος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μνῆμα πολλοὶ χώσουσιν ἀξίως ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπισφαγήσεται αὐτῷ ὅσα εἰκὸς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ.

12. Καὶ σὺ δ', ἔφη, οὐκ ἔρημος ἔσει, ἀλλ' ἐγώ

¹ γενήσοιτο F, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; λόγου φανεῖη xzv, Zonaras, Dindorf, Breitenbach (*show himself a friend worth mentioning*).

8. And when he saw the lady sitting upon the ground and the corpse lying there, he wept over his loss and said : "Alas, O brave and faithful soul, hast thou then gone and left us?" And with the words he clasped his hand, and the dead man's hand came away in his grasp ; for the wrist had been severed by a sabre in the hands of an Egyptian. 9. And Cyrus was still more deeply moved at seeing this ; and the wife wept aloud ; but taking the hand from Cyrus, she kissed it and fitted it on again as best she could and said : 10. "The rest of his limbs also you will find in the same condition, Cyrus ; but why should you see it? And I am in no small degree to blame that he has suffered so, and you, Cyrus, perhaps not less than I. For it was I that, in my folly, urged him to do his best to show himself a worthy friend to you ; and as for him, I know that he never had a thought of what might happen to him, but only of what he could do to please you. And so," she said, "he has indeed died a blameless death, while I who urged him to it sit here alive!"

11. For some time Cyrus wept in silence and then he said aloud : "Well, lady, he indeed has met the fairest of ends, for he has died in the very hour of victory ; but do you accept these gifts from me"—for Gobryas and Gadatas had come with many beautiful ornaments—"and deck him [with them. And then, let me assure you that in other ways also he shall not want for honours, but many hands shall rear to him a monument worthy of us, and sacrifice shall be made over it, such as will befit a man so valiant.

12. "And you," he continued, "shall not be left

Panthea
mourns over
her dead

XENOPHON

σε καὶ σωφροσύνης ἔνεκα καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ ταῦλλα τιμῆσω καὶ συστήσω ὅστις ἀποκομιεῖ σε δποι ἀν αὐτὴ ἐθέλησι μόνον, ἔφη, δήλωσον πρὸς ἐμὲ πρὸς ὅντινα χρήζεις κομισθῆναι.

13. Καὶ ἡ Πάνθεια εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ θάρρει, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρος, οὐ μή σε κρύψω πρὸς ὅντινα βούλομαι ἀφικέσθαι.

14. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπήγει, κατοικτείρων τὴν τε γυναικαὶ οἵου ἀνδρὸς στέροιτο καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα οἴαν γυναικαὶ καταλιπὼν οὐκέτ' ὅψοιτο. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστῆναι, ἔως ἂν, ἔφη, τόνδ' ἐγὼ δδύρωμαι ως βούλομαι· τῇ δὲ τροφῷ εἶπε παραμένειν, καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτῇ, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνῃ, περικαλύψαι αὐτήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνὶ ἴματίῳ. ἡ δὲ τροφὸς πολλὰ ἵκετεύουσα μὴ ποιεῖν τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἥνυτε¹ καὶ χαλεπαίνουσαν ἔώρα, ἐκάθητο κλαίουσα. ἡ δὲ ἀκινάκην πάλαι παρεσκευασμένον σπασαμένη σφάττει ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἐπιθεῖσα ἐπὶ τὰ στέρνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς κεφαλὴν ἀπέθυνησκεν.

Ἡ δὲ τροφὸς ἀνωλοφύρατό τε καὶ περιεκάλυπτεν ἄμφω ὥσπερ ἡ Πάνθεια ἐπέστειλεν.

15. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ως ἦσθετο τὸ ἔργον τῆς γυναικός, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἤεται, εἴ τι δύναιτο βοηθῆσαι. οἱ δὲ εὐνούχοι ἰδόντες τὸ γεγενημένον, τρεῖς ὅντες σπασάμενοι κάκεῖνοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἀποσφάττουσαι οὖπερ ἔταξεν αὐτοὺς ἑστηκότες.

¹ ἥνυτε Dindorf, Edd.; ἥνυε κεDν; ἥνυσε F.

friendless, but on account of your goodness and all your worth, I shall show you all honour; and besides, I will command to you some one to escort you to the place where you yourself desire to go. Only let me know to whom you wish to be conducted."

13. "Ah, Cyrus," Panthea answered, "do not fear; I shall never hide from you who it is to whom I wish to go."

14. When he had said this, Cyrus went away, his heart full of pity for the woman, as he thought what a husband she had lost, and for the man, that he must leave such a wife and never see her more. The lady then desired the eunuchs to retire, "until," she said, "I have bewailed my husband here, as I desire." But her nurse she told to stay with her, and she charged her to cover her and her husband, when she, too, was dead, with the same cloak. The nurse, however, pleaded earnestly with her not to do so; but when her prayers proved of no avail and she saw her mistress becoming angered, she sat down and burst into tears. Panthea then drew out a dagger, with which she had provided herself long before, and plunged it into her heart, and laying her head upon her husband's bosom she breathed her last.

Panthea's death
Then the nurse wailed aloud and covered them both, even as Panthea had directed.

15. When Cyrus heard what the woman had done, he was filled with dismay and hastened to the place to see if he could bring any help. And when the eunuchs, three in number, beheld what had occurred, they also, standing in the spot where she had ordered them to stand, drew their daggers and drove them into their own breasts.

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[Καὶ νῦν τὸ μνῆμα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τῶν εὔνούχων κεχώσθαι λέγεται· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ ἄνω στήλῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιγεγράφθαι φασὶ τὰ ὄνόματα, Σύρια γράμματα, κάτω δὲ εἶναι τρεῖς λέγουσι στήλας καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι σκηπτοτύχων.]¹

16. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὡς ἐπλησίασε τῷ πάθει ἀγασθείσι τε τὴν γυναικαν καὶ κατολοφυράμενος ἀπήγει καὶ τούτων μὲν ἦ εἰκὸς ἐπεμελήθη ὡς τύχοιεν πάντων τῶν καλῶν, καὶ τὸ μνῆμα ὑπερμέγεθες ἔχώσθη, ὡς φασιν.

IV

1. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου στασιάζοντες οἱ Κάρες καὶ πολεμοῦντες πρὸς ἄλληλους, ἅτε τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντες ἐν ἔχυροῖς χωρίοις, ἐκάτεροι ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὸν Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος αὐτὸς μὲν μένων ἐν Σάρδεσι μηχανᾶς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ κριούς, ὡς τῶν μὴ πειθομένων ἐρείψων τὰ τείχη, Ἀδούσιον δὲ ἄνδρα Πέρσην καὶ τάλλα οὐκ ἀφρονα οὐδὲ ἀπόλεμον, καὶ πάνυ δὴ εὐχαριν, πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν στράτευμα δούς· καὶ Κίλικες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι πάνυ προθύμως αὐτῷ συνεστράτευσαν.
2. ὃν ἔνεκα οὐδὲ ἐπεμψε πώποτε Πέρσην σατράπην οὕτε Κιλίκων οὕτε Κυπρίων, ἀλλ' ἥρκουν αὐτῷ ἀεὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι βασιλεύοντες δασμὸν μέντοι ἐλάμβανε καὶ στρατιᾶς ὅπότε δέοιτο ἐπήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς.

¹ καὶ νῦν . . . σκηπτοτύχων MSS.; omitted by Dindorf, omitted or bracketed by Edd.

[And now even to this day, it is said, the monument ^{Their} of the eunuchs is still standing; and they say that ^{monument} the names of the husband and wife are inscribed in Assyrian letters upon the slab above; and below, it is said, are three slabs with the inscription THE MACE-BEARERS.¹]

16. And when Cyrus drew near to the place of sorrow he marvelled at the woman; and having made lament over her, he went his way. He also took care that they should find all due honours, and the monument reared over them was, as they say, exceeding great.

IV

1. THEN the Carians fell into strife and civil war ^{Adusius settles a civil war in Caria} with one another; they were intrenched in strongholds, and both sides called upon Cyrus for assistance. So while Cyrus himself stayed in Sardis to make siege-engines and battering rams to demolish the walls of such as should refuse to submit, he entrusted an army to Adusius, a Persian who was not lacking in judgment generally and not unskilled in war, and who was besides a very courteous gentleman, and sent him into Caria; and the Cilicians and Cyprians also joined most heartily in this expedition. 2. Because of their enthusiastic allegiance he never sent a Persian satrap to govern either the Cilicians or the Cyprians, but was always satisfied with their native princes. Tribute, however, he did receive from them, and whenever he needed forces he made a requisition upon them for troops.

¹ Staff-bearers—apparently court officials, bearing a “staff” of office; mentioned again VIII. i. 38; VIII. iii. 15; *Anab.* I. vi. 11.

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3. Ο δὲ Ἀδούσιος ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν ἦλθε, καὶ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν Καρῶν παρῆσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτοιμοι δύντες δέχεσθαι εἰς τὰ τείχη ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ἀντιστασιαζόντων· ὁ δὲ Ἀδούσιος πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ταῦτα ἐποίει· δικαιότερά τε ἔφη λέγειν τούτους ὅποτέροις διαλέγοιτο, λαθεῖν τε ἔφη δεῦν τοὺς ἐναντίους φίλους σφᾶς γενομένους, ώς δὴ οὗτως ἀν μᾶλλον ἐπιπεσὼν ἀπαρασκεύοις τοῖς ἐναντίοις. πιστὰ δὲ ἡξίου γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Κάρας ὀμόσαι ἀδόλως τε δέξεσθαι¹ εἰς τὰ τείχη σφᾶς καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῷ Κύρου καὶ Περσῶν· αὐτὸς δὲ ὀμόσαι θέλειν ἀδόλως εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ τείχη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν δεχομένων. 4. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀμφοτέροις λάθρᾳ ἑκατέρων νύκτα συνέθετο τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ εἰσῆλασέ τε² εἰς τὰ τείχη καὶ παρέλαβε τὰ ἐρύματα ἀμφοτέρων. ἂμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καθεξόμενος εἰς τὸ μέσον σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκάλεσεν ἑκατέρων τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἀλλήλους ἡχθέσθησαν, νομίζοντες ἐξηπατῆσθαι ἀμφότεροι. 5. ὁ μέντοι Ἀδούσιος ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

'Ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ω̄ ἄνδρες, ὕμοσα ἀδόλως εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ τείχη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν δεχομένων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπολῶ ὅποτέρους ὑμῶν, νομίζω ἐπὶ κακῷ εἰσεληλυθέναι Καρῶν· ἦν δὲ εἰρήνην ὑμῖν ποιήσω καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τὴν γῆν, νομίζω ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ παρεῖναι. νῦν οὖν χρὴ

¹ δέξεσθαι Dindorf, Madvig, Edd.; δέξασθαι MSS.

² ἡσῆλασέ τε Hug (ἡσῆλασε Leonclav; εἰσῆλθε τε Cobet), Marchant, Gemoll; εἰσῆλατο zV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; εἰσῆλλατο x; εἰσῆλθεν y.

3. Adusius now set out for Caria at the head of his army; and there came to him representatives from both parties of the Carians, ready to receive him into their walls to the injury of the rival faction. But Adusius treated both sides alike: with whichever party he conferred, he said they were more in the right, but they must not let their opponents know that he and they had become friends, alleging that he would thus be more likely to fall upon those opponents unprepared. Moreover, he demanded from the Carians pledges of good faith and made them swear to receive him without treachery within their walls to the advantage of Cyrus and the Persians, and he himself consented to give his oath that he would without treachery enter their walls for the advantage of those who admitted him. 4. And when he had done this, he made appointments with both parties for the same night—each party without the other's knowledge—and on that night he marched inside the walls and took possession of the strongholds of both. At day-break he took his stand with his army between the two and summoned the leaders of the two factions. And when they saw one another they were indignant, for they both thought they had been duped. 5. Adusius, however, addressed them as follows:

“Gentlemen, I gave you my oath that I would without treachery enter your walls for the advantage of those who admitted me. If, therefore, I destroy either party of you, I think that I have come in to the injury of the Carians; whereas, if I can secure peace for you and security for all to till the fields, I think I am here for your advantage. Now, therefore,

Peace is
established
between the
factions

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ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις φιλικῶς, ἐργάζεσθαι τε τὴν γῆν ἀδεῶς, διδόναι τε τέκνα καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ἦν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ἀδικεῖν τις ἐπιχειρῆ, τούτοις Κῦρος τε καὶ ἡμεῖς πολέμιοι ἐσόμεθα.

6. Ἐκ τούτου πύλαι μὲν ἀνεῳγμέναι ἥσαν τῶν τειχῶν, μεσταὶ δὲ αἱ ὁδοὶ πορευομένων παρ' ἀλλήλους, μεστοὶ δὲ οἱ χῶροι ἐργαζομένων· ἔορτὰς δὲ κοινῇ ἥγον, εἰρήνης δὲ καὶ εὐφροσύνης πάντα πλέα ἦν.

7. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἥκον παρὰ Κύρου ἐρωτῶντες εἴ τι στρατιᾶς προσδέοιτο ἡ μηχανημάτων· ὁ δὲ Ἀδούσιος ἀπεκρίνατο δτι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἐξείη ἄλλοσε χρῆσθαι στρατιᾶ· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, φρουροὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ Κᾶρες ἵκέτευνον μένειν αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελε, προσέπεμψαν πρὸς Κῦρον δεόμενοι πέμψαι Ἀδούσιον σφίσι σατράπην.

8. Οἱ δὲ Κῦρος ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεστάλκει· Τοστάσπαν στράτευμα ἄγοντα ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν περὶ Ἑλλήσ- ποντον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκεν ὁ Ἀδούσιος, μετάγειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἥπερ ὁ Τοστάσπας προφέχετο, ὅπως μᾶλλον πείθοιντο τῷ Τοστάσπᾳ, ἀκούσαντες ἄλλο στράτευμα προσιόν.

9. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἑλληνες οἱ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ οἰκοῦντες πολλὰ δῶρα δόντες διεπράξαντο ὥστε εἰς μὲν τὰ τείχη βαρβάρους μὴ δέχεσθαι, δασμὸν δὲ ἀποφέρειν¹ καὶ στρατεύειν ὅποι Κῦρος ἐπαγγέλλοι.

¹ ἀποφέρειν Zonaras, Edd.; ὑποφέρειν MSS.

from this day you must live together like friends, till your lands without fear of one another, and intermarry your children one party with the other ; and if any one in defiance of these regulations attempts to make trouble, Cyrus, and we with him, will be that man's enemies."

6. After that, the gates of the city were opened, the streets filled up with people passing to and fro, and the farms with labourers ; they celebrated their festivals together, and peace and joy reigned everywhere.

7. At this juncture messengers came to him from Cyrus to ask if he needed any more troops or engines ; but Adusius answered that even the army he had with him was at the disposal of Cyrus to employ elsewhere. And with those words he started to lead back his army, leaving only garrisons upon the citadels. But the Carians pleaded with him to stay ; and when he refused, they sent to Cyrus to petition him to send Adusius to be their satrap.

8. Cyrus had meanwhile sent off Hystaspas in command of an expedition against the Phrygia that lies along the Hellespont. So when Adusius returned, he directed him to march on in the direction Hystaspas had taken, that they might submit to Hystaspas more readily when they heard that another army was on the way.

9. Now the Greeks who dwelt by the sea gave many gifts and secured an agreement to the effect that while they should not receive the barbarians¹ within their walls, they would yet pay tribute and serve under him in the field wherever Cyrus should direct.

¹ "Barbarians," from the Greek point of view ; that is, Persians.

10. ὁ δὲ τῶν Φρυγῶν βασιλεὺς παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς καθέξων τὰ ἔρυμνὰ καὶ οὐ πεισόμενος καὶ παρήγγελλεν οὕτως ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίσταντο αὐτοῦ οἱ ὅπαρχοι καὶ ἔρημος ἐγίγνετο, τελευτῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἥλθεν Ὁστάσπᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ Κύρου δίκῃ. καὶ ὁ Ὁστάσπας καταλιπὼν ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις ἴσχυρὰς Περσῶν φρουρὰς ἀπήγει ἄγων σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Φρυγῶν πολλοὺς ἵππεας καὶ πελταστάς.

11. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπέστελλεν Ἀδουσίῳ συμμίξαντα πρὸς Ὁστάσπαν τοὺς μὲν ἐλομένους Φρυγῶν τὰ σφέτερα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἄγειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιθυμήσαντας πολεμεῖν τούτων ἀφελομένους τοὺς Ἰππους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα σφενδόνας ἔχοντας πάντας κελεύειν ἐπεσθαι. 12. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν.

Κῦρος δὲ ὠρμάτο ἐκ Σάρδεων, φρουρὰν μὲν πεζὴν καταλιπὼν πολλὴν ἐν Σάρδεσι, Κροῖσον δὲ ἔχων, ἄγων δὲ πολλὰς ἀμάξας πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων. ἡκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος γεγραμμένα ἔχων ἀκριβῶς ὅσα ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἦν τῇ ἀμάξῃ καὶ διδοὺς τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ γράμματα εἶπε, Ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἔχων, ὁ Κῦρε, εἴσει τόν τέ σοι ὀρθῶς ἀποδιδόντα ἄ ἄγει καὶ τὸν μῆ.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔλεξεν, Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καλῶς ποιεῖς,¹ ὁ Κροῖσε, προνοῶν ἔμοιγε μέντοι ἄξουσι τὰ χρήματα οἴπερ καὶ ἔχειν αὐτὰ ἄξιοί εἰσιν ὥστε ἦν τι καὶ κλέψωσι, τῶν ἑαυτῶν κλέψονται.

Καὶ ἄμα ταῦτα λέγων ἔδωκε τὰ γράμματα τοῖς

¹ ποιεῖς xy, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἐποίεις zV e, Dindorf, Sauppe, Breitenbach; ἐποίησας Zonaras.

10. But the king of Phrygia made preparations to keep possession of his forts and not to submit, and he gave orders to that effect. When, however, his subordinate officers deserted and he was left alone, he finally surrendered to Hystaspes on condition that Cyrus should be his judge and arbiter. And Hystaspes, leaving strong garrisons of Persians upon the citadels, went back with his own army reinforced with many Phrygian horsemen and peltasts.

11. Besides, Cyrus had given Adusius instructions to join Hystaspes and bring with them armed those Phrygians who had voluntarily taken their side, but to take their horses and arms away from those who had shown fight, and to make all such follow, armed with nothing but slings. 12. Accordingly, they were thus engaged in executing these orders.

But Cyrus, leaving behind a large garrison of foot-soldiers, started from Sardis in company with Croesus; and he took with him many wagons loaded with valuables of every sort. And Croesus also had come with an accurate inventory of what was in each wagon; and as he handed the lists to Cyrus he said: "From this, Cyrus, you may know who renders to you in full that of which he has charge and who does not."

13. "Aye, Croesus," answered Cyrus; "you do well to take this precaution. As far as I am concerned, however, those shall have charge of the valuables who also deserve to own them; so that if they embezzle anything, they will be embezzling from what is their own."

With these words, he gave the inventories to his

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φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὅπως εἰδεῖεν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων οἵ τε σῶα¹ αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδοῖεν οἵ τε μή.

14. Ἡγε δὲ· καὶ Λυδῶν οὓς μὲν ἔώρα καλλωπιζομένους καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ἄρμασι καὶ πάντα πειρωμένους ποιεῖν δὲ τι φόντο αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι, τούτους μὲν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις οὓς δὲ ἔώρα ἀχαρίτως ἐπομένους, τοὺς μὲν ἵππους αὐτῶν παρέδωκε Πέρσαις τοῖς πρώτοις συστρατευομένοις, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα κατέκαισε· σφενδόνας δὲ καὶ τούτους ἡνάγκασεν ἔχοντας ἔπεσθαι. 15. καὶ πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀόπλους τῶν ὑποχειρίων γενομένων σφενδονᾶν ἡνάγκαζε μελετᾶν, νομίζων τοῦτο τὸ ὅπλον δουλικώτατον εἶναι· σὺν μὲν γάρ ἀλλῃ δυνάμει μάλα ἔστιν ἔνθα ἴσχυρῶς ὀφελοῦσι σφενδονῆται παρόντες, αὐτοὶ δὲ καθ' αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ ἀν οἱ πάντες σφενδονῆται μείνειαν πάνυ δλίγους ὁμόσει ἰόντας σὺν ὅπλοις ἀγχεμάχοις.

16. Προὶῶν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος κατεστρέψατο μὲν Φρύγας τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Φρυγίᾳ, κατεστρέψατο δὲ Καππαδόκας, ὑποχειρίους δὲ ἐποιήσατο Ἀραβίους. ἔξωπλισε² δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων Περσῶν μὲν ἴππεας οὐ μέν τετρακισμύρους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ

¹ σῶα MSS., Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; σᾶ Dindorf, Hug.

² ἔξωπλισε xyG², Hug, Marchant; ἔξεπλησε zG¹V, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hertlein, Gemoll (*he filled up the number*).

friends and officers, that they might be able to tell who of the overseers delivered everything safe and who of them failed.

14. He took with him also such of the Lydians as he saw taking a pride in the fine appearance of their arms and horses and chariots and trying to do everything that they thought would please him ; these he permitted to retain their arms. But if he saw any following with bad grace, he turned their horses over to those Persians who had been the first to engage in his service ; he had their arms burned, and these men, too, he required to follow with nothing but slings. 15. And of those who had been made subjects he required all who were unarmed to practise with the sling, for he considered this weapon to be the one most fitting for a slave. For in conjunction with other forces there are occasions when the presence of slingers is of very effective assistance, but by themselves alone not all the slingers in the world could stand against a very few men who came into a hand-to-hand encounter with them with weapons suited for close combat.

16. On the way to Babylon he subdued Greater Phrygia and Cappadocia and reduced the Arabians to submission. From all these he secured armour for not less than forty thousand Persian horsemen, and many horses taken from the prisoners he dis-

He marches
still con-
quering to
Babylon

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πᾶσι τοῖς συμμάχοις διέδωκε· καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφίκετο παμπόλλους μὲν ἵππεας ἔχων, παμπόλλους δὲ τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστάς, σφενδονῆτας δὲ ἀναριθμήτους.

V

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἦν ὁ Κῦρος, περιέστησε μὲν πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπειτα αὐτὸς περιήλαυνε τὴν πόλιν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις τε καὶ ἐπικαιρίοις τῶν συμμάχων. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεθεάσατο τὰ τείχη, ἀπάγειν παρεσκευάσατο τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως· ἐξέλθων δέ τις αὐτόμολος εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπιτίθεσθαι μέλλοιεν αὐτῷ, ὅπότε ἀπάγοι τὸ στράτευμα· καταθεωμένοις γάρ, ἔφη, αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀσθενής ἐδόκει εἶναι ἡ φάλαγξ· καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἦν οὕτως ἔχειν περὶ γάρ πολὺ τείχος κυκλούμενοις¹ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἐπ' ὀλίγων² τὸ βάθος γενέσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα.

3. Ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Κῦρος ταῦτα, στὰς κατὰ μέσον τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν παρήγγειλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἐκατέρωθεν τοὺς ὄπλίτας ἀναπτύσσοντας τὴν φάλαγγα ἀπιέναι παρὰ τὸ ἑστηκὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἕως γένοιτο ἐκατέρωθεν τὸ ἄκρον κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέσον. 4. οὕτως οὖν ποιούντων οἵ τε μένοντες

¹ κυκλουμένοις Bornemann, recent Edd.; κυκλουμένους MSS., earlier Edd.

² ὀλίγων Hertlein, Edd.; ὀλίγον MSS.

tributed among all the divisions of his allies. And thus he arrived before Babylon with a great host of cavalry, and a great host of bowmen and spearmen, and a multitude of slingers that was beyond number.

V

1. WHEN Cyrus appeared before Babylon he ^{Cyrus} stationed his whole force about the city and then ^{surrounds} Babylon rode around it himself in company with his friends and the staff-officers of the allies; 2. but when he had taken a survey of the walls, he prepared to draw off his army from the city. But a deserter came out and told him that they were going to attack him as soon as he began to draw his army off. "For," the man went on, "your lines looked weak to those who observed them from the walls." And it was no wonder that they appeared so; for, encompassing walls of such extent,¹ the lines necessarily had but little depth.

3. On hearing this, therefore, Cyrus took his place ^{He retires} with his body-guard in the centre of his army and ^{from the wall} gave orders that the hoplites should fold back the phalanx from the extremity of either wing and move toward each other behind the main body, which had been halted, until each of the extreme wings should meet in a line with him, that is, in the centre.² 4. By

¹ See Index, *s.v.* Babylon, note.

² See Appendix I.

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εὐθὺς θαρραλεώτεροι ἐγίγνοντο ἐπὶ διπλασίων τὸ
βάθος γυγνόμενοι, οἵ τ' ἀπιόντες ὡσαύτως θαρρα-
λεώτεροι εὐθὺς γὰρ οἱ μένοντες ἀντ'¹ αὐτῶν
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγίγνοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευό-
μενοι ἑκατέρωθεν συνῆψαν τὰ ἄκρα, ἔστησαν
ἰσχυρότεροι γεγενημένοι, οἵ τε ἀπεληλυθότες διὰ
τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, οἵ τ' ἔμπροσθεν διὰ τοὺς ὅπισθεν
προσγεγενημένους. 5. ἀναπτυχθείσης δ' οὕτω τῆς
φάλαγγος ἀνάγκη τοὺς πρώτους ἀρίστους εἶναι
καὶ τοὺς τελευταίους, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοὺς κακίστους
τετάχθαι· ἡ δ' οὕτως ἔχουσα τάξις καὶ πρὸς
τὸ μάχεσθαι ἐδόκει εὖ παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ πρὸς
τὸ μὴ φεύγειν. καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς δὲ καὶ οἱ γυμνῆτες
οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων ἀεὶ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο
τοῦ ἀρχοντος τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἡ φάλαγξ βραχυτέρα
ἐγίγνετο ἀναδιπλουμένη. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτω συν-
εσπειράθησαν, ἀπῆσαν, ἔως μὲν ἔξικνεῦτο τὰ βέλη
ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ πόδα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω βελῶν
ἐγένοντο, στραφέντες, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγα
βίημata προιόντες μετεβάλλοντο² ἐπ' ἀσπίδα
καὶ ἵσταντο πρὸς τὸ τείχος βλέποντες· ὅσῳ δὲ
προσωτέρω ἐγίγνοντο, τόσῳ δὲ μανότερον μετε-
βάλλοντο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐδόκουν εἶναι,
συνεῖρον ἀπιόντες, ἔστ' ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ἐγέ-
νοντο.

¹ ἀντ' supplied by Hertlein, Ed. L.; not in MSS.

² μετεβάλλοντο χύν, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Gemoll; μετε-
βάλλοντο εἰ, Hug, Marchant.

this manœuvre the men that remained standing in their places were at once given more courage, for the depth of the line was thus doubled; and those who had fallen back were likewise rendered more courageous, for thus those troops which had been kept standing had now come to face the enemy, and not they. But when, as they marched in from both sides, the ends came together, they stood thus mutually strengthened—those who had shifted their position were supported by those in front of them, those in front by the men behind them. 5. And when the phalanx was thus folded back, the front ranks and the rear were of necessity composed of the most valiant men and the poorest were drawn up between them. And this arrangement of the lines seemed well adapted both for fighting and for keeping the men from flight; and the cavalry and the light-armed troops upon the wings were in each case brought as much nearer to the commander as the phalanx was shorter when doubled. 6. And when they had thus closed up, they retired backward as long as they were within range of the missiles from the wall; but when they were out of range, they would face about and go forward at first only a few steps and wheel to the left and stand facing the wall; and the further off they got, the less often did they thus wheel around; and when they seemed to be out of all danger, they marched off without stopping until they arrived at their tents.

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7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους καὶ ἔλεξεν,
"Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, τεθεάμεθα μὲν κύκλῳ τὴν
πόλιν ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπως μὲν ἂν τις τείχη οὕτως
ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ὑψηλὰ προσμαχόμενος ἔλοι οὐκ ἐνορᾶν
μοι δοκῶ ὅσφε δὲ πλείους ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ
πόλει εἰσίν, ἐπείπερ οὐ μάχονται ἔξιόντες, τοσούτῳ
ἄνθρακαν λιμῷ αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι ἀλῶναι. εἰ μή
τιν' οὖν ἄλλον τρόπον ἔχετε λέγειν, τούτῳ πολιορκητέους
φῆμι εἶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

8. Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας εἶπεν, Ὁ δὲ ποταμός, ἔφη,
οὗτος οὐδὲ μέσης τῆς πόλεως φει πλάτος ἔχων
πλεῖον ή ἐπὶ δύο στάδια;

Ναὶ μὰ Δίη, ἔφη ὁ Γωθρύας, καὶ βάθος γ' ώς
οὐδὲ ἄν δύο ἄνδρες ὁ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐστηκώς τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχοιεν· ὥστε τῷ ποταμῷ ἔτι
ἰσχυροτέρα ἐστὶν η πόλις η τοῖς τείχεσι.

9. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, Ταῦτα μέν, ἔφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα,
ἐῶμεν ὅσα κρείττω ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως·
διαμετρησαμένους δὲ χρὴ ώς τάχιστα τὸ μέρος
ἔκαστους¹ ἡμῶν δρύπτειν τάφρον ώς πλατυτάτην
καὶ βαθυτάτην, ὅπως ὅτι ἐλαχίστων ἡμῖν τῶν
φυλάκων δέη.

10. Οὕτω δὴ κύκλῳ διαμετρήσας περὶ τὸ τεῖχος,
ἀπολιπὼν ὅσον τύρσεσι μεγάλαις ἀπὸ τοῦ

¹ ἔκαστους Madvig, Breitenbach, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll;
ἔκαστου καὶ FV, Dindorf; ἔκαστου D.

7. When they had encamped, Cyrus called together his staff-officers and said : " Friends and allies, we have viewed the city on every side. But I am sure I cannot see how any one could take by storm walls so massive and so high ; but the more men there are in the city, the sooner they can, I think, be brought by famine to capitulate, seeing that they will not come out and fight. Therefore, unless you have some other method to suggest, I propose that we use this method of laying siege to those gentlemen."

8. " But," said Chrysantas, " does not this river flow through the midst of the city ? And it is more than two stadia in width."

" Aye, by Zeus," said Gobryas, " and its depth is such that two men, one standing on the other's shoulders, would not reach the surface of the water, so that the city is better defended by the river than by its walls."

9. " Chrysantas," Cyrus answered, " let us not trouble ourselves with that which is beyond our powers ; but we must apportion the work among ourselves as quickly as possible, to each contingent its proper share, and dig a ditch as wide and as deep as possible, so that we may require only as many men on guard as are absolutely indispensable."

10. Accordingly, he took measurements in a circle round about the city, leaving just enough room by the river for the erection of large towers, and began

Cyrus plans
for a siege

He proposes
to divert the
Euphrates

ποταμοῦ, ὕρυττεν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ τείχους τάφρου ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀνέβαλλον πρὸς ἑαυτούς. 11. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πύργους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύκοδόμει, φοίνιξι θεμελιώσας οὐ μεῖον ἡ πλεθριαίοις—εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ μείζονες ἢ τοσοῦτοι τὸ μῆκος πεφυκότες· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πιεζόμενοι οἱ φοίνικες ὑπὸ βάρους ἄνω κυρτοῦνται, ὥσπερ οἱ δνοι οἱ κανθήλιοι· 12. τούτους δ' ὑπετίθει τούτου ἔνεκα [ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἑοίκοι πολιορκήσειν παρασκευαζομένῳ],¹ ώς εἰ καὶ διαφύγοι ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν τάφρον, μὴ ἀνέλοι τοὺς πύργους. ἀρίστη δὲ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς πύργους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμβολάδος γῆς, ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστα φυλακτήρια εἴη.

13. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν· οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ τείχει κατεγέλων τῆς πολιορκίας, ως ἔχοντες τάπιτήδεια πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν ἑτάν.

Ἄκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος τὸ στράτευμα κατένειμε δώδεκα μέρη, ώς μῆνα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔκαστον τὸ μέρος φυλάξον. 14. οἱ δὲ αὖ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον κατεγέλων, ἐννοούμενοι εἰ σφᾶς Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Ἀράβιοι καὶ Καππαδόκαι φυλάξοιεν, οὓς σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον πάντας εὐμενεστέρους εἶναι ἢ Πέρσαις.

15. Καὶ αἱ μὲν τάφροι ἥδη ὀρωρυγμέναι ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπειδὴ ἐορτὴν τοιαυτὴν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλώνι ἥκουσεν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ πάντες Βαβυλώνιοι δλην τὴν νύκτα πίνουσι καὶ κωμάζουσιν, ἐν ταύτῃ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα συνεσκότασε, λαβὼν πολλοὺς

¹ ὅπως . . . παρασκευαζομένῳ MSS.; bracketed by Breitnabch, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; Dindorf brackets τούτους . . . πύργους.

on either side of the city to dig an immense trench ; and the earth from it they threw up on their own side of the ditch. 11. First of all, he began to build towers by the river, laying his foundations with the trunks of date-palms not less than a hundred feet long—and they grow even taller than that. And they were good material for this purpose, for it is a well known fact that date-palms, when under heavy pressure, bend upward like the backs of pack-asses. 12. These he used as "mud-sills," in order that, even if the river should break into his trench above, it might not carry his towers away. And he erected many other towers besides upon the breast-works of earth, so that he might have as many watch-towers as possible.

13. Thus, then, his men were employed, while the enemy upon the walls laughed his siege-works to scorn, in the belief that they had provisions enough for more than twenty years.

Upon hearing of this, Cyrus divided his army into twelve parts as if intending each part to be responsible for sentry duty during one month of each year ; 14. but the Babylonians, in their turn, when they heard of that, laughed much more scornfully still, at the thought of Phrygians and Lydians and Arabians and Cappadocians keeping guard against them, for they considered all these to be more friendly to them than to the Persians.

15. At last the ditches were completed. Then, when he heard that a certain festival had come round in Babylon, during which all Babylon was accustomed to drink and revel all night long, Cyrus took a large number of men, just as soon as it was dark, and

The river
is turned

ἀνθρώπους ἀνεστόμωσε τὰς τάφρους πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν. 16. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, τὸ ὄδωρ κατὰ τὰς τάφρους ἔχώρει ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ, η δὲ διὰ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄδὸς πορεύσιμος ἀνθρώποις ἐγίγνετο.

17. Ὡς δὲ τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οὔτως ἐπορσύνετο, παρηγγύησεν ὁ Κύρος Πέρσαις χιλιάρχοις καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων εἰς δύο ἄγοντας τὴν χιλιοστὺν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμμάχους κατ’ οὐρὰν τούτων ἐπεσθαι ὥπερ πρόσθεν τεταγμένους. 18. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρῆσαν ὁ δὲ καταβιβάσας εἰς τὸ ξηρὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας, ἐκέλευσε σκέψασθαι εἰ πορεύσιμον εἴη τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 19. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλαν ὅτι πορεύσιμον εἴη, ἐνταῦθα δὴ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

20. "Ἄνδρες, ἔφη, φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς ἡμῖν παρακεχώρηκε τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὄδον. ἡμεῖς δὲ θαρροῦντες εἰσίωμεν μηδὲν φοβούμενοι εἰσω, ἐννοούμενοι ὅτι οὗτοι ἔφ' οὓς νῦν πορευσόμεθα ἐκεῖνοι εἰσιν οὓς ἡμεῖς καὶ συμμάχους πρὸς ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντας καὶ ἐγρηγορότας ἀπαντας καὶ νήφοντας καὶ ἔξωπλισμένους καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐνικῶμεν. 21. νῦν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτούς ἴμεν ἐν φῷ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν καθεύδουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν μεθύουσι, πάντες δὲ ἀσύντακτοι εἰσιν. ὅταν δὲ αἰσθωνται ἡμᾶς ἐνδον δυτας, πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ νῦν ἀχρεῖοι ἔσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι.

22. Εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο ἐννοεῖται, δὴ λέγεται φοβερὸν εἶναι τοῦς εἰς πόλιν εἰσιοῦσι, μὴ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη ἀναβάντες βάλλωσιν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν,

opened up the heads of the trenches at the river. 16. As soon as that was done, the water flowed down through the ditches in the night, and the bed of the river, where it traversed the city, became passable for men.

17. When the problem of the river was thus solved, Cyrus gave orders to his Persian colonels, infantry and cavalry, to marshal their regiments two abreast and come to him, and the rest, the allies, to follow in their rear, drawn up as before. 18. They came, according to orders, and he bade his aides, both foot and horse, get into the dry channel of the river and see if it was possible to march in the bed of the river. 19. And when they brought back word that it was, he called together the generals of both infantry and cavalry and spoke as follows :

20. "My friends," said he, "the river has made way for us and given us an entrance into the city. Let us, therefore, enter in with dauntless hearts, fearing nothing and remembering that those against whom we are now to march are the same men that we have repeatedly defeated, and that, too, when they were all drawn up in battle line with their allies at their side, and when they were all wide awake and sober and fully armed ; 21. whereas now we are going to fall upon them at a time when many of them are asleep, many drunk, and none of them in battle array. And when they find out that we are inside the walls, in their panic fright they will be much more helpless still than they are now.

Cyrus issues instructions for entering the city

22. "But if any one is apprehensive of that which is said to be a source of terror to those invading a city—namely, that the people may go up

τοῦτο μάλιστα θαρρεῖτε· ἡν γὰρ ἀναβῶσί τινες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχομεν σύμμαχον θεὸν¹ Ἡφαιστον. εὑφλεκτα δὲ τὰ πρόθυρα αὐτῶν, φοίνικος μὲν αἱ θύραι πεποιημέναι, ἀσφάλτῳ δὲ ὑπεκκαύματι κεχριμέναι.² 23. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὖ πολλὴν δᾶδα ἔχομεν, ἡ ταχὺ πολὺ πῦρ τέξεται, πολλὴν δὲ πίτταν καὶ στυππεῖον, ἡ ταχὺ παρακαλεῖ πολλὴν φλόγα· ὥστε ἀνάγκην εἶναι ἡ φεύγειν ταχὺ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἡ ταχὺ κατακεκαῦσθαι.

24. Ἀλλ’ ἄγετε λαμβάνετε τὰ ὅπλα· ἡγήσομαι δὲ ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. ὑμεῖς δ’, ἔφη, ὁ Γαδάτα καὶ Γωβρύα, δείκνυτε τὰς ὁδούς· ἵστε γάρ· δταν δὲ ἐντὸς γενώμεθα, τὴν ταχίστην ἄγετε ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεῖα.

25. Καὶ μήν, ἔφασαν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν, οὐδὲν ἀν εἴη θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἄκλειστοι αἱ πύλαι αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου εἰεν ως ἐν κώμῳ δειπνεῖ³ γὰρ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα τῇδε τῇ νυκτὶ. φυλακῇ μέντοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐντευξόμεθα· ἔστι γὰρ ἀεὶ τεταγμένη.

Οὐκ ἀν μέλλειν³ δέοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀλλ’ ἵέναι, ἵνα ἀπαρασκεύουσι ως μάλιστα λάβωμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας.

26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐρρήθη, ἐπορεύοντο· τῶν δὲ ἀπαντώντων οἱ μὲν ἀπέθησκον παιόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἔφευγον πάλιν εἰσω, οἱ δὲ ἐβόων· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν συνεβόων αὐτοῖς, ως κωμασταὶ

¹ κεχριμέναι Cobet, most Edd.; κεχρισμέναι MSS., Breitenbach.

² ως . . . δειπνεῖ Hug; ως . . . δοκεῖ xzV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; κωμοδοκεῖ γ; κωμάζει Stephanus, Marchant, Gemoll.

³ ἀν μέλλειν Muret, Edd.; ἀμελεῖν γ; ἀν ἀμελεῖν xz.

on the house-tops and hurl down missiles right and left, you need not be in the least afraid of that; for if any do go up upon their houses, we have a god on our side, Hephaestus. And their porticoes are very inflammable, for the doors are made of palm-wood and covered with bituminous varnish which will burn like tinder; 23. while we, on our side, have plenty of pine-wood for torches, which will quickly produce a mighty conflagration; we have also plenty of pitch and tow, which will quickly spread the flames everywhere, so that those upon the house-tops must either quickly leave their posts or quickly be consumed.

24. "But come, to arms! and with the help of the gods I will lead you on. And do you, Gadatas and Gobryas, show the streets, for you are familiar with them. And when we get inside the walls, lead us by the quickest route to the royal palace."

25. "Aye," answered Gobryas and his staff, "in view of the revelry, it would not be at all surprising if the gates leading to the palace were open, for all the city is feasting this night. Still, we shall find a guard before the gates, for one is always posted there."

"We must lose no time, then," said Cyrus. "Forward, that we may catch the men as unprepared as we can."

26. When these words were spoken, they advanced. Babylon falls And of those they met on the way, some fell by their swords, some fled back into their houses, some shouted to them; and Gobryas and his men shouted

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δοντες καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ λόντες ἦ ἐδύναντο [ώς]¹ τάχιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγένοντο. 27. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Γωβρύᾳ καὶ Γαδάτῃ τεταγμένοι κεκλειμένας εὐρίσκουσι τὰς πύλας τοῦ βασιλέου· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς φύλακας ταχθέντες ἐπεισπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς πίνουσι πρὸς φῶς πολύ, καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο αὐτοῖς. 28. ὡς δὲ κραυγὴ καὶ κτύπος ἐγίγνετο, αἰσθόμενοι οἱ ἔνδον τοῦ θορύβου, κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐκθέουσί τινες ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας. 29. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Γαδάταν ὡς εἶδον τὰς πύλας χαλώσας εἰσπίπτουσι καὶ τοῖς πάλιν φεύγουσιν εἴσω ἐφεπόμενοι καὶ παίοντες ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ ἵδη ἐστηκότα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσπασμένον διν εἰχεν ἀκινάκην εὐρίσκουσι. 30. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οἱ σὺν Γαδάτῃ καὶ Γωβρύᾳ ἔχειροῦντο· καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπέθινησκον, ὁ μὲν προβαλόμενός τι, ὁ δὲ φεύγων, ὁ δέ γε καὶ ἀμυνόμενος ὅτῳ ἐδύνατο.

31. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος διέπειμπε τὰς τῶν ἱππέων τάξεις κατὰ τὰς ὄδους καὶ προεῖπεν οὓς μὲν ἔξω λαμβάνοιεν κατακαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις κηρύττειν τοὺς Συριστὶ ἐπισταμένους ἔνδον μένειν· εἰ δέ τις ἔξω ληφθείη, δτι θανάτωσοιτο.

32. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. Γαδάτας δὲ καὶ Γωβρύας ἥκον· καὶ θεοὺς μὲν πρῶτουν προσεκύνουν, δτι τετιμωρημένοι ἥσαν τὸν ἀνόσιον βασιλέα, ἐπειτα δὲ Κύρου κατεφίλουν καὶ χεῖρας

¹ ὡς MSS.; [ώς] Hug, Etonensis 1613, Edd.

back to them, as if they were fellow-revellers. They advanced as fast as they could and were soon at the palace. 27. And Gobryas and Gadatas and their troops found the gates leading to the palace locked, and those who had been appointed to attack the guard fell upon them as they were drinking by a blazing fire, and without waiting they dealt with them as with foes. 28. But, as a noise and tumult ensued, those within heard the uproar, and at the king's command to see what the matter was, some of them opened the gates and ran out. 29. And when Gadatas and his men saw the gates open they dashed in in pursuit of the others as they fled back into the palace, and dealing blows right and left they came into the presence of the king; and they found him already risen with his dagger in his hand. 30. And Gadatas and Gobryas and their followers overpowered him; and those about the king perished also, one where he had sought some shelter, another while running away, another while actually trying to defend himself with whatever he could.

31. Cyrus then sent the companies of cavalry around through the streets and gave them orders to cut down all whom they found out of doors, while he directed those who understood Assyrian to proclaim to those in their houses that they should stay there, for if any one should be caught outside, he would be put to death.

32. While they were thus occupied, Gadatas and Gobryas came up; and first of all they did homage to the gods, seeing that they had avenged themselves

Gobryas and
Gadatas
avengetheir
wrongs

καὶ πόδας, πολλὰ δακρύουντες ἅμα χαρᾶ [καὶ εὐφραινόμενοι].¹

33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἥσθοντο οἱ τὰς ἄκρας ἔχοντες ἑαλωκυῖάν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τεθυηκότα, παραδιδόσι καὶ τὰς ἄκρας.

34. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τὰς μὲν ἄκρας εὐθὺς παρελάμβανε καὶ φρουράρχους τε καὶ φρουροὺς εἰς ταύτας ἀνέπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ τεθυηκότας θάπτειν ἐφῆκε τοῖς προσήκουσι· τοὺς δὲ κήρυκας κηρύττειν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφέρειν πάντας τὰ ὅπλα Βαβυλωνίους· ὃπου δὲ ληφθήσοιτο ὅπλα ἐν οἰκίᾳ, προηγόρευεν ὡς πάντες οἱ ἔνδον ἀποθανοῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέφερον, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὰς ἄκρας κατέθετο, ὡς εἴη ἔτοιμα, εἴ τι ποτε δέοι χρῆσθαι.

35. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς μάγους καλέσας, ὡς δοριαλώτου τῆς πόλεως οὗσης ἀκροθίνια τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τεμένη ἐκέλευσεν ἔξελεῖν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ οἰκίας διεδίδου καὶ ἀρχεῖα τούτοις οὕσπερ κοινῶνας ἐνόμιζε τῶν καταπεπραγμένων οὕτω δὲ διένειμεν ὥσπερ ἐδέδοκτο τὰ κράτιστα τοῖς ἀρίστοις. εἰ δέ τις οἴοιτο μεῖον ἔχειν, διδάσκειν προσιόντας ἐκέλευε.

36. Προεἶπε δὲ Βαβυλωνίοις μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς δασμοὺς ἀποφέρειν καὶ θεραπεύειν τούτους οἵς ἔκαστοι αὐτῶν ἐδόθησαν· Πέρσας δὲ τοὺς κοινῶνας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὅσοι

¹ καὶ εὐφραινόμενοι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Lincke, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

CYROPAEDIA, VII. v. 32-36

upon the wicked king, and then they kissed Cyrus's hands and his feet with many tears of joy.

33. And when day dawned and those in possession of the citadels discovered that the city was taken and the king slain, they surrendered the citadels, too.

34. And Cyrus at once took possession of the citadels and sent up to them guards and officers of the guards. As for the dead, he gave their relatives permission to bury them. He furthermore ordered the heralds to make proclamation that all Babylonians deliver up their arms; and he ordered that wherever arms should be found in any house, all the occupants should be put to the sword. So they delivered up their arms and Cyrus stored them in the citadels, so that they might be ready if he ever needed them for use.

35. When all this was finished, he first called the magi and requested them, inasmuch as the city had been taken by the sword, to select sanctuaries and the first fruits of the booty for the gods. Next he distributed the private houses and official residences among those whom he considered to have had a share in what had been achieved; and he made the division in the way that had been decided upon—the best to the most meritorious. And if any one thought he had less than he should, he bade him come and explain his reasons for thinking so.

36. He ordered the Babylonians, moreover, to go on tilling their lands, to pay their tribute, and to serve those to whom they had severally been assigned; and he directed the Persians who had shared in the expedition and as many of the allies as chose

The entire
city yields
to Cyrus

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μένειν ἥροῦντο παρ' αὐτῷ ὡς δεσπότας ὧν ἔλαβον προηγόρευε διαλέγεσθαι.

37. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν ὁ Κῦρος ἤδη κατασκευάσσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς βασιλεῖ ἡγεῖτο πρέπειν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο σὺν τῇ τῶν φίλων γνώμῃ ποιῆσαι, ὡς ὅτι ἡκιστα ἀν ἐπιφθόνως σπάνιός τε καὶ σεμνὸς φανέΐη. ὅδε οὖν ἐμηχανάτο τοῦτο. ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ στὰς ὅπου ἔδοκει ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι προσεδέχετο τὸν βουλόμενον λέγειν τι καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος ἀπέπεμπεν. 38. οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἔγνωσαν ὅτι προσδέχοιτο, ἦκουν ἀμήχανοι τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ ὡθουμένων περὶ τοῦ προσελθεῖν μηχανή τε πολλὴ καὶ μάχη ἦν. 39. οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται ὡς ἔδύναντο διακρίναντες προσίεσαν.¹

"Οπότε δέ τις καὶ τῶν φίλων διωσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον προφανείη, προτείνων ὁ Κῦρος τὴν χεῖρα προσήγετο αὐτοὺς καὶ οὕτως ἔλεγεν· "Ἄνδρες φίλοι, περιμένετε, ἔως ἂν² τὸν ὄχλον διωσάμεθα· ἔπειτα δὲ καθ' ἡσυχίαν συγγενησόμεθα. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι περιέμενον, οἱ δ' ὄχλος πλείων καὶ πλείων ἐπέρρει, ὥστ' ἔφθασεν ἐσπέρα γενομένη πρὶν τοὺς φίλους αὐτὸν σχολάσαι [καὶ]³ συγγενέσθαι. 40. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγει, "Ὦρα,⁴ ἔφη, ὡς ἄνδρες, μῦν μὲν [καιρὸς]⁵ διαλυθῆναι αὔριον δὲ πρῷ ἔλθετε· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βούλομαι ὑμῖν τι διαλεχθῆναι.

¹ προσίεσαν Stephanus, Edd.; προσήσαν MSS.

² ἂν Hertlein, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

³ καὶ MSS., Edd.; bracketed by Gemoll.

⁴ Ὦρα Cobet, most Edd.; ἥρα or ἥρα MSS., Breitenbach.

⁵ καιρὸς MSS.; omitted by Cobet, Edd.

CYROPAEDIA, VII. v. 36-40

to remain with him to address those who had fallen to their share as a master would his servants.

37. After this, Cyrus conceived a desire to establish himself as he thought became a king, but he decided to do it with the approval of his friends, in such a way that his public appearances should be rare and solemn and yet excite as little jealousy as possible. So he adopted the following plan: at day-break he would take his station in a place that seemed to him to be adapted to the purpose and there receive all who had any matter to bring before him, give them an answer, and send them away. 38. But when people learned that he was holding audience, they came in an unmanageable throng, and as they crowded up to get in there was no end of trickery and contention. 39. And his attendants would admit them, making the best discrimination they could.

But whenever any of his personal friends managed to push their way through the throng and catch his eye, Cyrus would stretch out his hand, draw them up to him, and say: "Just wait, friends, until we get rid of the crowd, and then we will enjoy each other's company quietly." So his friends would wait, but the throng would stream in greater and greater, so that evening would set in before he had leisure to share his friends' company. 40. So Cyrus would say: "Gentlemen, it is now time to separate; come tomorrow morning; for I, too, have something to talk over with you."

XENOPHON

Ακούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ φίλοι ἄσμενοι φέρουντο ἀποθέοντες, δίκην δεδωκότες ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

41. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ μὲν Κῦρος παρῆν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Χωρίον, ἀνθρώπων δὲ πολὺ πλείον πλῆθος περιειστήκει βουλομένων προσιέναι, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἡ οἵ φίλοι παρῆσαν. ὁ οὖν Κῦρος περιστησάμενος τῶν ξυστοφόρων Περσῶν κύκλου μέγαν εἰπε μηδένα παριέναι ἢ τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ ἄρχοντας τῶν Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων.
 42. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον οὕτοι, ἔλεξεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτοῖς τοιάδε. "Ανδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἀν ἔχοιμεν μέμψασθαι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ μέχρι τοῦδε πάντα δσα ηὔχόμεθα καταπεπραχέναι. εἰ μέντοι τοιοῦτον ἔσται τὸ μεγάλα πράττειν ὥστε μὴ οἶόν τ' εἶναι μήτε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν σχολὴν ἔχειν μήτε μετὰ τῶν φίλων εὐφρανθῆναι, ἐγὼ μὲν χάρειν ταύτην τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν κελεύω.
 43. ἐνενοήσατε γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ χθὲς δήπου ὅτι ἔωθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἀκούειν τῶν προσιόντων οὐκ ἐλήξαμεν πρόσθεν ἐσπέρας· καὶ νῦν ὄράτε τούτους ἄλλους πλείονας τῶν χθὲς παρόντας¹ ὡς πράγματα ήμεν παρέξοντας.
 44. εἰ οὖν τις τούτοις ὑφέξει ἑαυτόν, λογίζομαι μικρὸν μέν τι ὑμῖν μέρος ἐμοῦ μετεσόμενον, μικρὸν δέ τι ἐμοὶ ὑμῶν ἐμαυτοῦ μέντοι σαφῶς οἴδ' ὅτι οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν μοι μετέσται.

45. "Ετι δ', ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλο ὄρῳ γελοῖον πρᾶγμα, ἐγὼ γὰρ δήπου ὑμῖν μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς διάκειμαι· τούτων δὲ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἡ τινα ἢ οὐδένα

¹ παρόντας γG, Edd.; παρόντων xAHV.

Upon hearing this, his friends gladly departed, running from his presence, for they had paid the penalty for ignoring all the wants of nature. Thus then they went to rest.

41. On the following day, Cyrus went to the same place and long before his friends came, there was a much greater crowd of people standing there desiring audience with him. So Cyrus stationed a large circle of Persian lancers about him and gave orders that no one should be admitted except his friends and the officers of the Persians and the allies. 42. And when they had come together, Cyrus addressed them as follows : " Friends and allies, we cannot possibly find any fault with the gods that all that we wished for so far has not been fulfilled. However, if great success is to have such consequences that a man is not to be able to have some leisure for himself nor time to enjoy himself with his friends, I am ready to bid farewell to that sort of happiness. 43. For yesterday, too, you saw, of course, that although we began at dawn to give audience to those who came to see us, we did not get through before evening ; and now you see that these others, who are here in greater numbers than came yesterday, will give us even more trouble. 44. If, therefore, one is to sacrifice oneself to such affairs, I reckon that you will have but a small part in my society or I in yours ; while in myself I know that I shall certainly have no part at all.

He discusses organization of his court

45. " I see also," he went on, " still another absurd feature in all this : while my affection for you is, as you know, what it naturally ought to be, of these

οίδα,¹ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες οὕτω παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶν ὡς, ἡν τικῶσιν ὑμᾶς ὀθοῦντες, πρότεροι ἀβούλονται ὑμῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ διαπραξόμενοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡξίουν τοὺς τοιούτους, εἴ τις τι ἐμοῦ δέοιτο, θεραπεύειν ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους δεομένους προσαγωγῆς.

46. Ἰσως ἀν οὖν εἴποι τις, τί δῆτα οὐχ οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρεσκευασάμην, ἀλλὰ παρεῖχον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἐμαυτόν. ὅτι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοιαῦτα ἐγίγνωσκον ὄντα. ως μὴ ὑστερίζειν δέον τὸν ἄρχοντα μήτε τῷ εἰδέναι ἢ δεῖ μήτε τῷ πράττειν ἀν καιρὸς ἢ τοὺς δὲ σπανίους ἰδεῖν στρατηγοὺς πολλὰ ἐνόμιζον ὡν δεῖ πραχθῆναι παριέναι.

47. Νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ φιλοποιώτατος πόλεμος ἀναπέπαυται, δοκεῖ μοι καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ ἀναπαύσεώς τινος ἀξιοῦν τυγχάνειν. ως οὖν ἐμοῦ ἀποροῦντος ὅτι ἀν τύχοιμι ποιῶν ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν τά τε ἡμέτερα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀλλων ὡν ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἐπιμέλεσθαι, συμβουλευέτω ὅτι τις ὄρᾳ συμφορώτατον.

48. Κῦρος μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀνίσταται δέ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ συγγενής ποτε φῆσας εἶναι καὶ εἶπεν, Ἡ καλῶς, ἔφη, ἐποίησας, ὡς Κῦρε, ἀρξας τοῦ λόγου. ἐγὼ γάρ ἔτι νέου μὲν ὄντος σοῦ πάνυ ἀρξάμενος ἐπεθύμουν φίλος γενέσθαι, ὄρῶν δέ σε οὐδὲν δεόμενον ἐμοῦ κατώκνουν σοι προσιέναι. 49. ἐπεὶ δέ ἔτυχές ποτε καὶ ἐμοῦ δεηθεὶς [προθύμως]² ἐξαγγεῖλαι πρὸς Μῆδους τὰ

¹ οἶδα γ, Edd.; γιγνώσκω γ; εἶδον X.

² προθύμως MSS., earlier Edd.; [προθύμως] Hug, later Edd.

who stand about here I know few or none ; and yet all these have made up their minds that if they can get ahead of you in crowding in, they will obtain what they wish from me before you can. Now what I expected all such to do, if any one wanted anything from me, was to get into favour with you as my friends and ask you for an introduction.

46. "Perhaps some one may ask why I did not adopt this arrangement in the beginning instead of making myself accessible to all. It was, I answer, because I realized that the demands of war made it necessary for a commander not to be behind others in finding out what he ought to know nor in doing what it is expedient that he should do. And I thought generals who were seldom to be seen often neglected much that needed to be done."

47. "But now that this most toilsome war is really over, it seems to me that I, too, am entitled to find some relaxation of spirit. So, while I am in doubt as to what I could do to harmonize our interests and those of the others for whom we must care, let any one who sees what is to the best advantage give me a word of counsel."

48. Thus Cyrus spoke. After him Artabazus arose —the man who had once claimed to be his kinsman—and said : "I am very glad, Cyrus, that you have opened this discussion. For when you were still a lad, I was very anxious even from the first to be a friend of yours ; but when I saw that I could be of no use to you, I shrank from approaching you. 49. But when you once happened to need even my services to publish among the Medes the concession

Artabazus reviews his own relations with Cyrus

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παρὰ Κναξάρου, ἐλογιζόμην, εἰ ταῦτα προθύμως σοι συλλάβοιμι, ώς οἰκεῖός τέ σοι ἐσοίμην καὶ ἔξεσοιτό μοι διαλέγεσθαι σοι ὅπόσον χρόνον βουλοίμην. κάκεῖνα μὲν δὴ ἐπράχθη ὥστε σε ἐπαινεῖν.

50. Μετὰ τοῦτο Ἄρκανοι μὲν πρῶτοι φίλοι ἡμῖν ἐγένοντο καὶ μάλα πεινῶσι συμμάχων ὥστε μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις περιεφέρομεν αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶντες. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπεὶ ἑάλω τὸ πολέμιον στρατόπεδον, οὐκ οἴμαι σχολή σοι ἦν ἀμφ' ἐμὲ ἔχειν· καὶ ἐγώ σοι συνεγίγνωσκον. 51. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Γωβρύας ἡμῖν φίλος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχαιρον καὶ αὖθις Γαδάτας· καὶ ἡδη ἔργον σοῦ ἦν μεταλαβεῖν· ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι καὶ Σάκαι καὶ Καδούσιοι σύμμαχοι ἐγεγένητο, θεραπεύειν εἰκότως ἔδει τούτους· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι σὲ ἐθεράπευον.

52. ‘Ως δ’ ἡλθομεν πάλιν ἔνθεν ὠρμήθημεν, ὁρῶν σε ἀμφ' ἵππους ἔχοντα, ἀμφ' ἄρματα, ἀμφὶ μηχανάς, ἡγούμην, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τούτων σχολάσαις, τότε σε καὶ ἀμφ' ἐμὲ ἔξειν σχολήν. ὡς γε μέντοι ἡλθεν ἡ δεινὴ ἀγγελía τὸ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συλλέγεσθαι, ἐγίγνωσκον ὅτι ταῦτα μέγιστα εἴη· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς γένοιτο, εὖ ἡδη ἔδόκουν εἰδέναι ὅτι πολλῇ ἐσοιτο ἀφθονίᾳ τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ [τῆς]¹ σῆς συνουσίας.

53. Καὶ νῦν δὴ νεικήκαμέν τε τὴν μεγάλην μάχην καὶ Σάρδεις καὶ Κροῖσον ὑποχείριον ἔχομεν καὶ Βαβυλῶνα ἡρήκαμεν καὶ πάντας² κατεστράμ-

¹ τῆς MSS., Breitenbach; omitted by Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

² πάντας xy, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; πάντα z, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

obtained from Cyaxares, I reasoned that, if I gave you my earnest support in this, I then might be your intimate friend and talk with you as much as I pleased. Now that particular commission was executed in such a way as to call for your approval.

50. "After that, the Hyrcanians were the first to become our friends, and at a time, too, when we were very hungry for allies, so that in our affection for them we all but carried them around in our arms. And after that, when the enemy's camp was taken, you did not have any time to concern yourself about me, I suppose, and I did not blame you. 51. Next, Gobryas became our friend, and I was glad; and then Gadatas; and then it was hard work to get any share of your attention. When, however, both the Sacians and the Cadusians had become our allies, you must needs show them proper attention, for they also were attentive to you.

52. "When we came back to the place from which we had started, I saw you busy with horses and chariots and engines, but I thought that as soon as you had leisure from these distractions you would have some time to think of me. Still, when the terrible news came that the whole world was assembling against us, I realized that that was a matter of paramount importance; but if it should turn out successfully, then at last I thought I might be sure that the intercourse between me and you would be unstinted.

53. "And now we have won the great battle and have Sardis and Croesus in subjection; we have taken Babylon and subjugated everything; and yet

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μεθα, καὶ μὰ τὸν Μίθρην ἐγώ τοι ἔχθες, εἰ μὴ πολλοῖς διεπύκτευσα, οὐκ ἀν ἐδυνάμην σοι προσέλθεῖν. ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι ἐδεξιώσω με καὶ παρὰ σοὶ ἐκέλευσας μένειν, ἥδη περίβλεπτος ἦν, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἄσιτος καὶ ἄποτος διημέρευον. 54. οὐν εἰ μὲν ἔσται πῃ ὅπως οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι γεγενημένοι πλείστον σου μέρος μεθέξομεν· εἰ δὲ μή, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐγὼ ἐθέλω παρὰ σοῦ ἐξαγγέλλειν ἀπιέναι πάντας ἀπὸ σοῦ πλὴν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φίλων.

55. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγέλασε μὲν ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί· Χρυσάντας δὲ ἀνέστη ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἔλεξεν ὃδε· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρόσθεν, ὡς Κῦρε, εἰκότως ἐν τῷ φανερῷ σαυτὸν παρεῖχες, δι' αὐτὸς εἶπας¹ καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἡμᾶς σοι μάλιστα ἦν θεραπευτέον. ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα παρῆμεν· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔδει ἀνακτᾶσθαι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, ὅπως ὅτι ἡδιστα συμπονεῖν καὶ συγκινδυνεύειν ἡμῖν ἐθέλοιεν. 56. οὖν δέ ἐπεὶ οὐ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μόνον ἀρχεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως² ἀνακτᾶσθαι δύνασαι οὖς καιρὸς εἴη, ἥδη καὶ οἰκίας σε τυχεῖν ἄξιον· ἡ τί ἀπολαύσαις ἀν τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ μόνος ἄμοιρος εἴης ἐστίας, οὐ οὔτε ὀσιώτερον χωρίον ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὔτε ἡδιον οὔτε οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν οὐδέν; ἔπειτα δέ, ἔφη, οὐκ ἀν οἴει καὶ ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνεσθαι,

¹ εἶπας Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug, Marchant; εἶπες MSS., Gemoll.

² οὐ . . . ἄλλως Hug; οὐχ οὕτω τρόπον (-ου DG¹) μόνον ἔχεις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους καὶ; οὖν τρόπῳ μόνῳ ἔχεις κ.τ.λ. z; οὐχ οὕτω τρόπῳ μόνῳ ἔχεις V; no two editors seem to agree on the restoration of this corrupt passage.

yesterday, by Mithras, if I had not fought my way through the crowd with my fists, I vow I could not have got near you. However, when you took me by the hand and bade me stay by you, I was the object of all envious eyes, for having spent a whole day with you—without a thing to eat or drink. 54. If, therefore, it can now be so arranged that we, who have proved ourselves most deserving, shall have the largest share of your company, well and good ; if not, I am ready once again to make a proclamation in your name to the effect that all shall keep away from you, except us who have been your friends from the beginning."

55. At this Cyrus laughed as did many others. Chrysantas proposes a royal home for Cyrus Then Chrysantas, the Persian, rose and spoke as follows : " Well, Cyrus, it was hitherto quite proper for you to make yourself approachable, for the reasons you have yourself assigned and also because we were not the ones whose favour you most needed to win ; for we were with you for our own sakes. But it was imperative for you in every way to win the affections of the multitude, so that they might consent to toil and risk their lives with us as gladly as possible. 56. But now, seeing that you do not hold your power by this method alone but are in a position in still other ways to win the hearts of those whom it is of advantage for you to win, it is meet that you should now have a home. Else what enjoyment would you have of your power, if you alone were to have no hearth and home of your own ? For there is no spot on earth more sacred, more sweet, or more dear than that. And finally," he said, " do you not think that we also should be ashamed to see you

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εὶ σὲ μὲν ὄρφμεν ἔξω καρτεροῦντα, αὐτὸὶ δὲ ἐν οἰκίαις εἴημεν καὶ σοῦ δοκοίημεν πλεονεκτεῖν;

57. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Χρυσάντας ταῦτα ἔλεξε, συνηγόρευον αὐτῷ κατὰ ταῦτα¹ πολλοί. ἐκ τούτου δὴ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ βασιλεῖα, καὶ τὰ ἐκ Σάρδεων χρήματα ἐνταῦθ' οἱ ἄγοντες ἀπέδοσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Κῦρος, πρῶτον μὲν Ἐστίᾳ ἔθυσεν, ἔπειτα Διὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ εἰς τινι ἄλλῳ θεῷ οἱ μάγοι ἔξηργοῦντο.

58. Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, τὰλλα ἥδη ἤρχετο διοικεῖν. ἐννοῶν δὲ τὸ αὐτοῦ πρᾶγμα ὅτι ἐπιχειροίη μὲν ἄρχειν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, παρασκευάζοιτο δὲ οἰκεῖν ἐν πόλει τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν φυνερῶν, αὗτη δὲ οὔτως ἔχοι αὐτῷ ὡς πολεμιωτάτη ἀν γένοιτο ἀνδρὶ πόλις, ταῦτα δὴ λογιζόμενος φυλακῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἤγήσατο δεῖσθαι. 59. γνοὺς δὲ ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἀνθρωποι εὐχειρωτότεροί εἰσιν ἢ ἐν σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ λουτροῖς καὶ κοίτῃ καὶ ὑπνῳ, ἐσκόπει τίνας ἀν ἐν τούτοις περὶ ἑαυτὸν πιστοτάτους ἔχοι. ἐνόμισε δὲ μὴ ἀν γενέσθαι ποτὲ πιστὸν ἀνθρωπον ὅστις ἄλλον μᾶλλον φιλήσοι τοῦ τῆς φυλακῆς δεομένου. 60. τοὺς μὲν οὓν ἔχοντας παῖδας ἢ γυναικας συναρμοττούσας ἢ παιδικὰ ἔγνω φύσει² ἡναγκάσθαι ταῦτα μάλιστα φιλεῖν· τοὺς δὲ εὔνούχους ὄρῶν πάντων τούτων στερομένους ἤγήσατο τούτους ἀν περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι οἵτινες δύναιντο πλουτίζειν μάλιστα αὐτοὺς καὶ βοηθεῖν, εἰς τι ἀδικοῦντο, καὶ τιμᾶς

¹ ταῦτα Muretus, Edd.; ταῦτα MSS.

² φύσει MSS., Edd.; φύσει ἦν Hug.

living in discomfort, out of doors, while we ourselves lived in houses and seemed to be better off than you?"

57. When Chrysantas had finished his speech, many supported him in the same tenor. After that, Cyrus moved into the royal palace, and those who had charge of the treasures brought from Sardis delivered them there. And after he took possession, Cyrus sacrificed first to Hestia, then to sovereign Zeus, and then to any other god that the magi suggested.

58. This done, he began at once to organize the rest of his court. And as he considered his own situation, that he was undertaking to hold sway over many people, and preparing to dwell in the greatest of all famous cities, and that that city was as hostile to him as a city could be to any man—as he reflected on this, he decided that he needed a body-guard.

59. And as he realized that men are nowhere an easier prey to violence than when at meals or at wine, in the bath, or in bed and asleep, he looked around to see who were the most faithful men that he could have around him at such times; and he held that no man was ever faithful who loved any one else better than the one who needed his protection. 60. Those, therefore, who had children or congenial wives or sweethearts, such he believed were by nature constrained to love them best. But as he observed that eunuchs were not susceptible to any such affections, he thought that they would esteem most highly those who were in the best position to make them rich and to stand by them, if ever they were wronged,

Cyrus moves into the palace
He selects his body-guard

περιάπτειν αὐτοῖς· τούτοις¹ δ' εὑεργετοῦντα
ὑπερβάλλειν αὐτὸν οὐδέν' ἀν ἡγεῖτο δύνασθαι.
61. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄδοξοι ὅντες οἱ εὔνοῦχοι παρὰ
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεσπότου
ἐπικούρου προσδέονται· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὅστις
οὐκ ἀν ἀξιώσειν εὔνούχου πλέον ἔχειν ἐν παντί,
εἰ μή τι ἄλλο κρείττον ἀπέιργοι· δεσπότη δὲ
πιστὸν ὅντα οὐδὲν κωλύει πρωτεύειν καὶ τὸν
εὔνούχον. 62. ὁ δ' ἀν μάλιστά τις οἰηθείη, ἀνάλ-
κιδας τοὺς εὔνούχους γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο
ἔφαίνετο αὐτῷ. ἐτεκμαίρετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων
ζώων ὅτι οὗ τε ὑβρισταὶ ἵπποι ἐκτεμνόμενοι τοῦ
μὲν δάκνειν καὶ ὑβρίζειν ἀποπαίονται, πολεμικοὶ
δὲ οὐδὲν ἡττον γίγνονται, οὗ τε ταῦροι ἐκτεμνό-
μενοι τοῦ μὲν μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν ὑφίενται,
τοῦ δὲ ἴσχύειν καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οὐ στερίσκονται,
καὶ οἱ κύνες δὲ ωσαύτως τοῦ μὲν ἀπολείπειν τοὺς
δεσπότας ἀποπαίονται ἐκτεμνόμενοι, φυλάττειν
δὲ καὶ εἰς θήραν οὐδὲν κακίους γίγνονται. 63. καὶ
οὕ γε ἀνθρώποι ωσαύτως ἡρεμέστεροι γίγνονται
στερισκόμενοι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, οὐ μέντοι
ἀμελέστεροί γε τῶν προσταττομένων, οὐδὲ ἡττόν τι
ἵππικοί, οὐδὲ ἡττόν τι ἀκοντιστικοί, οὐδὲ ἡττον
φιλότεμοι. 64. κατάδηλοι δὲ ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἐν τοῖς
πολέμοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς θήραις ὅτι ἔσωζον τὸ φιλό-
νικον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. τοῦ δὲ πιστοὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ
φθορᾷ τῶν δεσποτῶν μάλιστα βάσανον ἔδίδοσαν·
οὐδένες γὰρ πιστότερα ἔργα ἀπεδείκνυντο ἐν ταῖς
δεσποτικαῖς συμφοραῖς τῶν εὔνούχων. 65. εἰ δέ

¹ τούτοις Pantazides, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; τούτους MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

and to place them in offices of honour; and no one, he thought, could surpass him in bestowing favours of that kind. 61. Besides, inasmuch as eunuchs are objects of contempt to the rest of mankind, for this reason, if for no other, they need a master who will be their patron; for there is no man who would not think that he had a right to take advantage of a eunuch at every opportunity unless there were some higher power to prevent his doing so; but there is no reason why even a eunuch should not be superior to all others in fidelity to his master. 62. But he did not admit what many might very easily be inclined to suppose, that eunuchs are weaklings; and he drew this conclusion also from the case of other animals: for instance, vicious horses, when gelded, stop biting and prancing about, to be sure, but are none the less fit for service in war; and bulls, when castrated, lose somewhat of their high spirit and unruliness but are not deprived of their strength or capacity for work. And in the same way dogs, when castrated, stop running away from their masters, but are no less useful for watching or hunting. 63. And men, too, in the same way, become gentler when deprived of this desire, but not less careful of that which is entrusted to them; they are not made any less efficient horsemen, or any less skilful lancers, or less ambitious men. 64. On the contrary, they showed both in times of war and in hunting that they still preserved in their souls a spirit of rivalry; and of their fidelity they gave the best proof upon the fall of their masters, for no one ever performed acts of greater fidelity in his master's misfortunes than eunuchs do. 65. And if it is thought with some

τι ἄρα τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἴσχύος μειοῦσθαι δοκοῦσιν, ὁ σίδηρος ἀνισοῖ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τοῖς ἴσχυροῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. ταῦτα δὴ γυγνώσκων ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν πάντας τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα θεραπευτῆρας ἐποιήσατο εὐνούχους.

66. Ἡγησάμενος δὲ οὐχ ἵκανὴν εἶναι τὴν φυλακὴν ταύτην πρὸς τὸ πλήθος τῶν δυσμενῶν ἔχόντων, ἐσκόπει τίνας τῶν ἄλλων ἀν πιστοτάτους περὶ τὸ βασίλειον φύλακας λάβοι. 67. εἰδὼς οὖν Πέρσας τοὺς οἴκοι κακοβιωτάτους μὲν ὅντας διὰ πενίαν, ἐπιπονώτατα δὲ ζῶντας διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας τραχύτητα καὶ διὰ τὸ αὐτουργοὺς εἶναι, τούτους ἐνόμισε μάλιστ' ἀν ἀγαπᾶν τὴν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δίαιταν. 68. λαμβάνει οὖν τούτων μυρίους δορυφόρους, οὓς κύκλῳ μὲν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐφύλαττον περὶ τὰ βασίλεια, ὅπότε ἐπὶ χώρας εἴη· ὅπότε δὲ ἔξιοι ποι,¹ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο.

69. Νομίσας δὲ καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ὅλης φύλακας δεῖν εἶναι ἵκανούς, εἴτ' ἐπιδημῶν αὐτὸς τυγχάνοι εἴτε καὶ ἀποδημῶν, κατέστησε καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φρουροὺς ἵκανούς· μισθὸν δὲ καὶ τούτοις Βαβυλωνίους ἔταξε παρέχειν, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀμηχανώτατους εἶναι, διποτε ταπεινότατοι καὶ εὐκαθεκτότατοι εἰεν.

70. Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ περὶ αὐτόν τε φυλακὴ καὶ ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τότε κατασταθεῖσα καὶ νῦν ἔτι οὕτως ἔχουσα διαμένει. σκοπῶν δ' ὅπως ἀν καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἀρχὴ κατέχοιτο καὶ ἄλλῃ ἔτι προσγίγνοιτο,

¹ ποι Schneider, most Edd.; που MSS., Breitenbach.

justice that they are inferior in bodily strength, yet on the field of battle steel makes the weak equal to the strong. Recognizing these facts, he selected eunuchs for every post of personal service to him, from the door-keepers up.

66. But, as he deemed this guard insufficient in view of the multitude of those who bore him ill-will, he looked around to see whom he could find among the rest who would be the most trustworthy guards about the palace. 67. Now he knew that the Persians on account of their poverty lived in the greatest privation at home and were accustomed to a life of the hardest toil, because their country was rugged and they had to work with their own hands; so he believed that they would especially welcome life with him. 68. Accordingly, he took from among them ten thousand spearmen, who kept guard about the palace day and night, whenever he was in residence; but whenever he went away anywhere, they went along drawn up in order on either side of him.

69. And since he considered that all Babylon, too, stood in need of adequate protection, whether he himself happened to be at home or abroad, he stationed there also an adequate garrison, and he arranged that the Babylonians should furnish the money for their wages, for it was his aim that this people should be as destitute of resources as possible, so that they might be as submissive and as easily restrained as possible.

70. This guard that he then established about himself and in the city of Babylon is maintained on the same footing even to this day. And as he studied how his whole empire might be held together and at

ἥγησατο τοὺς μισθοφόρους τούτους οὐ¹ τοσοῦτον
βελτίουνας τῶν ὑπηκόων εἶναι δέσον ἐλάττονας·
τοὺς δὲ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγίγνωσκε συνεκτέον
εἶναι, οἵπερ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ κρατεῖν παρέσχον,
καὶ ἐπιμελητέον δπως μὴ ἀνήσουσι² τὴν τῆς
ἀρετῆς ἀσκησιν. 71. δπως δὲ μὴ ἐπιτάπτειν
αὐτοῖς δοκοίη, ἀλλὰ γνόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῦτα
ἀριστα εἶναι οὕτως ἐμμένοιέν τε καὶ ἐπιμέλοιντο
τῆς ἀρετῆς, συνέλεξε τούς τε ὁμοτίμους καὶ
πάντας δπόσοι ἐπικαίριοι ἦσαν καὶ ἀξιοχρεώτατοι
αὐτῷ ἐδόκουν κοινωνοὶ εἶναι καὶ πόνων καὶ ἀγα-
θῶν. 72. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς
μεγίστη χάρις δτι ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν τυχεῖν ὃν ἐνομί-
ζομεν ἀξιοι εἶναι. νῦν μὲν γάρ δὴ ἔχομεν καὶ
γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν καὶ οἰτινές ταύτην ἐργα-
ζόμενοι θρέψουσιν ἡμᾶς· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ οἰκίας
καὶ ἐν ταύταις κατασκευάς. 73. καὶ μηδείς γε
ὑμῶν ἔχων ταῦτα νομισάτω ἀλλότρια ἔχειν.
νόμος γάρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀίδιός ἐστιν, δταν
πολεμούντων πόλις ἀλῶ, τῶν ἐλόντων εἶναι καὶ
τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα.
οὔκουν ἀδικίᾳ γε ἔξετε ὅ τι ἀν ἔχητε, ἀλλὰ
φιλανθρωπίᾳ οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεσθε, ἦν τι ἔάτε ἔχειν
αὐτούς.

74. Τὸ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦδε οὕτως ἐγὼ γιγνώσκω
ὅτι εἰ μὲν τρεψόμεθα ἐπὶ ῥαδιουργίαν καὶ τὴν
τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡδυπάθειαν, οἱ νομίζουσι

¹ οὐ MSS., Edd.; δεῖν Gemoll (*they must be as much braver as they are fewer*).

² μὴ ἀνήσουσι Muretus, Edd.; μηνέσωσι MSS.

the same time enlarged, he reflected that these mercenaries were not so much better men than those he had made subject as they were inferior in number; and he realized that the brave men, who with the aid of the gods had brought him victory, must be kept together and that care must be exercised that they should not abandon their practice of virtue. 71. But in order that he might not seem to be issuing orders to them, but that they also might of themselves recognize that this was the best course for them and so abide in virtue and cultivate it, he collected the peers and all who were men of influence, together with such as seemed to him most worthy sharers of his toil and its rewards; 72. and when they had come together he addressed them as follows:

"Friends and allies, thanks be above all to the gods that they have vouchsafed to us to obtain all that we thought we deserved. For now we are in possession of broad and fertile lands and of subjects to support us by tilling them; we have houses also and furniture in them. 73. And let not one of you think that in having these things he has what does not belong to him; for it is a law established for all time among all men that when a city is taken in war, the persons and the property of the inhabitants thereof belong to the captors. It will, therefore, be no injustice for you to keep what you have, but if you let them keep anything, it will be only out of generosity that you do not take it away.

74. "As for the future, however, it is my judgment that if we turn to idleness and the luxurious self-indulgence of men of coarse natures, who count toil

Cyrus
advocates
the old
morals for
his new
empire

τὸ μὲν πονεῖν ἀθλιότητα, τὸ δὲ ἀπόνως βιοτεύειν εὐδαιμονίαν,¹ ταχὺ ἡμᾶς φῆμι ὀλέγου ἀξίους ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι καὶ ταχὺ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν στερήσεσθαι. 75. οὐ γάρ τοι τὸ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἀρκεῖ ὥστε καὶ διατελεῖν, ἢν μὴ τις αὐτοῦ διὰ τέλους ἐπιμέληται· ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἀμεληθεῖσαι μείονος ἄξιαι γύγνονται καὶ τὰ σώματά γε τὰ εὐ ἔχοντα, ὅπόταν τις αὐτὰ ἀνῆ ἐπὶ ῥᾳδιουργίαν, πονήρως πάλιν ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ ἐγκράτεια καὶ ἡ ἀλκή, ὅπόταν τις αὐτῶν ἀνῆ τὴν ἀσκησιν, ἐκ τούτου εἰς τὴν πονηρίαν πάλιν τρέπεται. 76. οὔκουν δεῖ ἀμελεῖν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτίκα ἥδū προιέναι αὐτούς.² μέγα μὲν γὰρ οἷμαι ἔργουν καὶ τὸ ἀρχὴν καταπρᾶξαι, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι μεῖζον τὸ λαβόντα διασώσασθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ λαβεῖν πολλάκις τῷ τόλμαν μόνον παρασχομένῳ ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ λαβόντα κατέχειν οὐκέτι τοῦτο ἄνευ σωφροσύνης οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγκρατείας οὐδὲ ἄνευ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας γίγνεται.

77. Ἀ χρὴ γυγνώσκοντας νῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡ πρὶν τάδε τάγαθὰ κτήσασθαι, εὐ εἰδότας δτι δταν πλεῖστά τις ἔχῃ, τότε πλεῖστοι καὶ φθονοῦσι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ πολέμοι γίγνονται, ἄλλως τε καν παρ' ἀκόντων τά τε κτήματα καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχῃ.

Τοὺς μὲν οὖν θεοὺς οἰεσθαι χρὴ σὺν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀδίκως ἔχο-

¹ εὐδαιμονίαν Wecklein, Marchant, Gemoll; ἥδυπάθειαν MSS., earlier Edd.

² αὐτούς Edd.; αὐτούς MSS.

misery and living without toil happiness, we shall soon be of little account in our own eyes and shall soon lose all the blessings that we have. 75. For, to have quitted yourselves once like valiant men does not, we know, assure the perpetuity of valour, unless you devote yourselves to it to the end; but, just as skill in other arts retrogrades if neglected, and as bodies, too, that were once in good condition change and deteriorate as soon as the owners relax into idleness, so also self-control and temperance and strength will take a backward turn to vice as soon as one ceases to cultivate them. 76. Therefore, we dare not become careless nor give ourselves up to the enjoyment of the present moment; for, while I think it is a great thing to have won an empire, it is a still greater thing to preserve it after it has been won. For to win falls often to the lot of one who has shown nothing but daring; but to win and hold—that is no longer a possibility without the exercise of self-control, temperance, and unflagging care.

77. "Recognizing all this, we ought to practise virtue even more than we did before we secured these advantages, for we may be sure that the more a man has, the more people will envy him and plot against him and become his enemies, particularly if, as in our case, he draws his wealth and service from unwilling hands.

"We must, therefore, believe that the gods will be on our side; for we have not come unjustly into

He emphasizes the Persians' need

μεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβουλευθέντες ἔτιμωρησάμεθα. 78. τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο κράτιστον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς παρασκευαστέον· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ βελτίστας ὅντας τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀρχειν ἀξιοῦν. Θάλπους μὲν οὖν καὶ ψύχους καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ πόνων καὶ ὑπνου ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῖς δούλοις μεταδιδόναι· μεταδιδόντας γε μέντοι πειρᾶσθαι δεῖ ἐν τούτοις πρῶτον βελτίστας αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι. 79. πολεμικῆς δὲ ἐπιστήμης καὶ μελέτης παντάπασιν οὐ μεταδοτέον τούτοις, οὕστινας ἐργάτας ἡμετέρους καὶ δασμοφόρους βουλόμεθα καταστῆσασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς δεῖ τούτοις τοῖς ἀσκήμασι πλεονεκτεῖν, γυγνώσκοντας ὅτι ἐλευθερίας ταῦτα ὄργανα καὶ εὐδαιμονίας οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπέδειξαν· καὶ ὥσπερ γε ἐκείνους τὰ ὅπλα ἀφηρήμεθα, οὕτως ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς δεῖ μήποτ' ἐρήμους ὅπλων γίγνεσθαι, εὐ εἰδότας ὅτι τοῖς ἀεὶ ἐγγυτάτῳ τῶν ὅπλων οὖσι τούτοις καὶ οἰκειότατά ἔστιν ἀν βούλωνται.

80. Εἰ δέ τις τοιαῦτα ἐννοεῖται, τί δῆτα ἡμῖν ὁφελος καταπράξαι ἢ ἐπεθυμοῦμεν, εἰ ἔτι δεήσει καρτερεῖν καὶ πεινῶντας καὶ διψῶντας καὶ πονοῦντας καὶ ἐπιμελομένους, ἐκεῖνο δεῖ καταμαθεῖν ὅτι τοσούτῳ τάγαθῷ μᾶλλον εὐφραίνει ὅσῳ ἀν μᾶλλον προπονήσας τις ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἵη¹ οἱ γὰρ πόνοι ὅψον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνευ δὲ τοῦ δεόμενον τυγχάνειν τινὸς οὐδὲν οὕτω πολυτελῶς παρασκευασθείη ἀν ὥσθ' ἥδυ εἶναι.

81. Εἰ δὲ ὡν μὲν μάλιστα ἀνθρωποι ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ὁ δαίμων ἡμῖν ταῦτα συμπαρεσκεύακεν,

¹ Ἡγ V corr. Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀπίγ Dindorf, Breitenbach; εἴη γ; ἀπίσι xxe.

our possessions through plotting against others, but plotted against we have avenged ourselves. 78. But that which is next in importance after the favour of the gods we must get for ourselves—namely, we must claim the right to rule over our subjects only on the ground that we are their betters. Now the conditions of heat and cold, food and drink, toil and rest, we must share even with our slaves. But though we share with them, we must above all try to show ourselves their betters in such matters; 79. but the science and practice of war we need not share at all with those whom we wish to put in the position of workmen or tributaries to us, but we must maintain our superiority in these accomplishments, as we recognize in these the means to liberty and happiness that the gods have given to men. And just as we have taken their arms away from them, so surely must we never be without our own, for we know that the nearer to their arms men constantly are, the more completely at their command is their every wish.

80. "But if any one is revolving in his mind any such question as this—‘of what earthly use it is to us to have attained to the goal of our ambitions if we still have to endure hunger and thirst, toil and care’—he must take this lesson to heart: that good things bring the greater pleasure, in proportion to the toil one undergoes beforehand to attain them; for toil gives a relish to good things; and nothing, however sumptuously prepared, could give pleasure unless a man get it when he needs it.

81. "Now if God has helped us to obtain that which men most desire, and if any one will so order these

*The secret
of happiness*

XENOPHON

ώς δ' ἀν ήδιστα ταῦτα φαίνοιτο αὐτός τις αὐτῷ [ταῦτα]¹ παρασκευάσει, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ τοσούτῳ πλεονεκτήσει τῶν ἐνδεεστέρων βίου ώς πεινήσας τῶν ήδιστων σίτων τεύξεται καὶ διψήσας τῶν ήδιστων ποτῶν ἀπολαύσεται καὶ δεηθεὶς ἀναπάυσεως ώς ήδιστον ἀναπαύσεται.

82. Ὡν ἔνεκά φημι χρῆναι νῦν ἐπιταθῆναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν, δπως τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἦ ἄριστον καὶ ηδιστον ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ δπως τοῦ πάντων χαλεπωτάτου ἅπειροι γενώμεθα. οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν τάγαθὰ οὕτω χαλεπὸν ὕσπερ τὸ λαβόντα στερηθῆναι λυπηρόν.

83. Εννοήσατε δὲ κάκεῖνο τίνα πρόφασιν ἔχοντες ἀν προσιούμεθα² κακίουες ἥ πρόσθεν γενέσθαι. πότερον δτι ἄρχομεν; ἀλλ' οὐ δήπου τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἄρχομένων πονηρότερον προσήκει εἶναι. ἀλλ' δτι εὑδαιμονέστεροι δοκοῦμεν νῦν ἥ πρότερον εἶναι; ἔπειτα τῇ εὑδαιμονίᾳ φῆσει τις τὴν κακίαν ἐπιπρέπειν; ἀλλ' δτι ἐπεὶ κεκτήμεθα δούλους, τούτους κολάσομεν,³ ἥν πονηρὸν ὠσι; 84. καὶ τί προσήκει αὐτὸν δῆτα πονηρὸν πονηρίας ἔνεκα ἥ βλακείας ἄλλους κολάζειν;

'Εννοεῖτε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δτι τρέφειν μὲν παρεσκευάσμεθα πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων οίκων φύλακας καὶ τῶν σωμάτων· αἰσχρὸν δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἀν εἴη, εἰ δι' ἄλλους μὲν δορυφόρους τῆς σωτηρίας οἰησόμεθα χρῆναι τυγχάνειν, αὐτοὶ

¹ ταῦτα MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; [ταῦτα] Brown, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

² προσιούμεθα Schneider, most Edd.; προσιέμεθα xzV, Breitenbach; προειλό(-ό) D)μεθα y.

³ κολάσομεν D, Edd.; κολάσωμεν xzFV.

results for himself that they shall give as great pleasure as possible, such a man will have this advantage over those who are not so well supplied with the means of living: when hungry he will enjoy the most dainty food, and when thirsty he will enjoy the finest drinks, and when in need of rest he will find it most refreshing.

82. "Wherefore I maintain that we should now strain every nerve after manliness, so that we may enjoy our success in the best and most delightful manner and have no experience in that which is hardest of all. For failure to obtain good things is not so hard as the loss of them, when once obtained, is painful.

83. "And think of this also: what excuse should we offer for allowing ourselves to become less deserving than before? That we are rulers? But, you know, it is not proper for the ruler to be worse than his subjects. Or that we seem to be more fortunate than before? Will any one then maintain that vice is the proper ornament for good fortune? Or shall we plead that since we have slaves, we will punish them, if they are bad? 84. Why, what propriety is there in any one's punishing others for viciousness or indolence, when he himself is bad?

"And think also on this: we have made arrangements to keep many men to guard our homes and our lives; and how would it be otherwise than base in us to think that we have a right to enjoy security protected by other men's spears, while we ourselves

Virtus the
strongest
safeguard

ΧΕΝΩΡΗΟΝ

δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐ δορυφορήσομεν; καὶ μὴν εὐ γε δεῖ εἰδέναι δtti οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη φυλακὴ τοιαύτη οὐα αὐτόν τινα καλὸν κάγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν· τοῦτο γάρ δεῖ συμπαρομαρτεῖν· τῷ δὲ ἀρετῆς ἐρήμῳ οὐδὲ ἄλλο καλῶς ἔχειν οὐδὲν προσήκει.

85. Τί οὖν φημι χρῆναι ποιεῖν καὶ ποῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν καὶ ποῦ τὴν μελέτην ποιεῖσθαι; οὐδὲν καινόν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἐρῶ· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχείοις οἱ ὁμότιμοι διάγουσιν, οὗτω καὶ ἡμᾶς φημι χρῆναι ἐνθάδε δυτας τοὺς ὁμοτίμους πάνθ' ὅσαπερ¹ κάκεῖ ἐπιτηδεύειν, καὶ ὑμᾶς τε ἐμὲ ὄρωντας κατανοεῖν παρόντας εἰ ἐπιμελόμενος ὡν δεῖ διάξω, ἐγώ τε ὑμᾶς κατανοῶν θεάσομαι, καὶ οὓς ἂν ὄρῳ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τάγαθὰ ἐπιτηδεύοντας, τούτους τιμήσω. 86. καὶ τοὺς παῖδας δέ, οἵ² ἀν ἡμῶν γίγνωνται, ἐνθάδε, παιδεύωμεν· αὐτοί τε γάρ βελτίουνες ἐσόμεθα, βουλόμενοι τοὺς παισὶν ὡς βέλτιστα παραδείγματα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχειν, οἵ τε παῖδες οὐδὲ ἀν εἰ βούλοιντο ῥᾳδίως πονηροὶ γένοιντο, αἰσχρὸν μὲν μηδὲν μιήτε ὄρωντες μητε ἀκούοντες, ἐν δὲ καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι διημερεύοντες.

¹ πάνθ' ὅσαπερ Dindorf⁴, Hug; πάντα ἄπερ Stephanus, Dindorf², Marchant, Gemoll; πάντας ἄπερ MSS., Breitenbach.

² οἱ xy, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; oīs zV, Dindorf, Breitenbach (*to whomsoever of us sons may be born*).

do not take up the spear for our own defence? And yet we must be fully aware that there is no such safeguard as for a man to be good and brave himself; this guard must be ever at our side. But if a man lack virtue, neither is it fitting that aught else be well with him.

85. "What, then, do I propose that we should do, wherein practise virtue, and where apply the practice? I have nothing new to tell you, my men; but just as in Persia the peers spend their time at the government buildings, so here also we peers must practise the same things as we did there; you must be in your places and watch me to see if I continue to do what I ought, and I will watch to see the same in you, and whomsoever I see pursuing what is good and honourable, him will I honour. 86. And as for our boys, as many as shall be born to us, let us educate them here. For we ourselves shall be better, if we aim to set before the boys as good examples as we can in ourselves; and the boys could not easily turn out bad, even if they should wish to, if they neither see nor hear anything vicious but spend their days in good and noble pursuits."

The Persian
discipline in
Babylon
I. ff. 4 ff.



BOOK VIII

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE

THE DEATH OF CYRUS

H

I

1. Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὗτος εἶπεν· ἀνέστη δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ Χρυσάντας καὶ εἶπεν ὡδε· Ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μὲν δὴ, ὡς ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλλοτε κατενόησα ὅτε ἄρχων ἀγαθὸς οὐδὲν διαφέρει πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ· οἵ τε γὰρ πατέρες προνοοῦσι τῶν παιδῶν ὅπως μῆποτε αὐτοὺς τάγαθὰ ἐπιλείψει, Κῦρος τέ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν συμβουλεύειν ἡμῖν ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστ' ἀν εὑδαιμονοῦντες διατελοῖμεν· δὲ δέ μοι δοκεῖ ἐνδεέστερον ἡ ὡς ἔχρην δηλώσαι, τοῦτο ἐγὼ πειράσομαι τοὺς μὴ εἰδότας διδάξαι. 2. ἐννοήσατε γὰρ δὴ τίς ἀν πόλις πολεμίᾳ ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων ἀλοίη· τίς δὲ ἀν φιλίᾳ ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων διαφυλαχθείη· ποῖον δὲ ἀν ἀπειθούντων στράτευμα νίκης τύχοι· πῶς δὲ ἀν μᾶλλον ἐν μάχαις ἡττώντο ἄνθρωποι ἡ ἐπειδὴν ἄρξωνται ἴδιᾳ ἔκαστος περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας βουλεύεσθαι· τί δὲ ἀλλο ἀγαθὸν τελεσθείη ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων τοῖς κρέίττοσι· ποῖαι δὲ πόλεις νομίμως ἀν οἰκήσειαν ἡ ποῖοι οἴκοι σωθείησαν· πῶς δὲ ἀν νῆες ὅποι δεῖ ἀφίκοιντο.

BOOK VIII

I

1. Such was Cyrus's address; and after him Chrysantas rose and spoke as follows: "Well, gentlemen, I have noticed often enough before now that a good ruler is not at all different from a good father. For as fathers provide for their children so that they may never be in want of the good things of life, so Cyrus seems to me now to be giving us counsel how we may best continue in prosperity. But there is one thing that he has not stated so clearly, it seems to me, as he should have done, and that I will try to present to any who do not know about it. 2. Bethink you, then, of this: what city that is hostile could be taken or what city that is friendly could be preserved by soldiers who are insubordinate? What army of disobedient men could gain a victory? How could men be more easily defeated in battle than when they begin to think each of his own individual safety? And what possible success could be achieved by such as do not obey their superiors? What state could be administered according to its laws, or what private establishments could be maintained, and how could ships arrive at their destination?

XENOPHON

3. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂν νῦν ἀγαθὰ ἔχομεν διὰ τί ἄλλο μᾶλλον κατεπράξαμεν ή διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι; διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταχὺ μὲν ὅποι ἔδει παρεγγυνόμεθα, ἀθρόοι δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπόμενοι ἀνυπόστατοι ἡμεν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιταχθέντων οὐδὲν ἡμιτελὲς κατελείπομεν. εἰ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὸ πειθαρχεῖν φαίνεται εἰς τὸ καταπράττειν τάγαθά, οὕτως εὖ ἵστε ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὸ διασώζειν ἀ δεῖ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν ἔστι.

4. Καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ ἡμῶν ἥρχον μὲν οὐδενός, ἥρχοντο δέ νῦν δὲ κατεσκεύασθε οὕτω πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὥστε ἄρχετε οἱ μὲν πλειόνων, οἱ δὲ μειόνων. ὥσπερ τοίνυν αὐτοὶ ἀξιώσετε ἄρχειν τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ πειθώμεθα οἵς ἀν ἡμᾶς καθήκη. τοσοῦτον δὲ διαφέρειν δεῖ τῶν δούλων ὅσον οἱ μὲν δοῦλοι ἄκοντες τοῖς δεσπόταις ὑπηρετοῦσιν, ἡμᾶς δέ, εἴπερ ἀξιοῦμεν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι, ἐκόντας δεῖ ποιεῖν δὲ πλείστου ἀξιον φαίνεται εἶναι. εὐρήσετε δέ, ἔφη, καὶ ἔνθα ἀνευ μοναρχίας πόλις οἰκεῖται, τὴν μάλιστα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐθέλουσαν πείθεσθαι ταύτην ἡκιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἀναγκαζομένην ὑπακούειν.¹

5. Παρῷμέν τε οὖν, ὥσπερ Κῦρος κελεύει, ἐπὶ τόδε τὸ ἄρχεῖον, ἀσκῶμέν τε δι' ὧν μάλιστα δυνησόμεθα κατέχειν ἀ δεῖ, παρέχωμέν τε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι Κύρῳ ὃ τι ἀν δέῃ. καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι οὐ μὴ δυνήσεται Κῦρος

¹ ὑπακούειν MSS., most Edd.; ἀκούειν Cobet, Hug.

CYROPAEDIA, VIII. i. 3-5

3. "And as for us, how have we secured the good things we now have, except by obedience to our commander? For by that course we always quickly reached our required destination, whether by day or by night, and following our commander in close array we were invincible, and we left half done none of the tasks committed to us. If, therefore, obedience to one's commander is, as it seems, the first essential to achieving success, then you may be sure that this same course is the first essential to ensuring its permanence.

4. "Heretofore, you know, many of us had no command but were under command; but now all of you here are so situated that you have command, some of larger, some of smaller-divisions. Therefore, as you yourselves will expect to exercise authority over those under your command, so let us also give our obedience to those whom it is our duty to obey. And we must distinguish ourselves from slaves in this way, that, whereas slaves serve their masters against their wills, we, if indeed we claim to be free, must do of our own free will all that seems to be of the first importance. And you will find that among states, even when the government is not a monarchy, that state which most readily obeys its officers is least likely to be compelled to submit to its enemies.

5. "Let us, therefore, present ourselves before our ruler's headquarters yonder, as Cyrus bids; let us devote ourselves to those pursuits by which we shall best be able to hold fast to that which we ought, and let us offer ourselves for whatever service Cyrus may need us for. And this trust will not be abused, for we may be sure that Cyrus will never be able to

εύρειν ὃ τι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ χρήσεται, ήμιν δὲ οὐ, ἐπείπερ τά γε αὐτὰ ήμιν συμφέρει καὶ οἱ αὐτοί εἰσιν ήμιν πολέμιοι.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπε Χρυσάντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἀνίσταντο πολλοὶ καὶ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων συνεροῦντες· καὶ ἔδοξε τοὺς ἐντίμους ἀεὶ παρεῖναι ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι ὃ τι ἀν βούληται, ἔως ἀφείη Κῦρος. ὡς δὲ τότε ἔδοξεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῦ ὅντες, θεραπεύουσι τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων θύρας. 7. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δεδῆλωται Κῦρος καταστησάμενος εἰς τὸ διαφυλάττειν αὐτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσαις τὴν ἀρχήν, ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνον βασιλεῖς νόμιμα ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελοῦσι ποιοῦντες. 8. οὕτω δὲ ἔχει καὶ ταῦτα ὥσπερ καὶ τἄλλα· ὅταν μὲν ὁ ἐπιστάτης βέλτιων γένηται, καθαρώτερον τὰ νόμιμα πράττεται· ὅταν δὲ χείρων, φαυλότερον.

Ἐφοίτων μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Κύρου οἱ ἐντιμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ταῖς αἰχμαῖς, συνδόξαν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν συγκαταστρεψαμένων τὴν ἀρχήν.

9. Κῦρος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τἄλλα καθίστη ἄλλους ἐπιμελητάς, καὶ ἡσαν αὐτῷ καὶ προσόδων ἀποδεκτῆρες καὶ δαπανημάτων δοτῆρες καὶ ἔργων ἐπιστάται καὶ κτημάτων φύλακες καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν δίαιταν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιμεληταί· καὶ ἵππων δὲ καὶ κυνῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καθίστη οὓς ἐνόμιζε· καὶ ταῦτα τὰ βοσκήματα βέλτιστον ἀν παρέχειν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι.

find anything in which he can employ us for his own advantage and not equally for ours; for we have common interests and we have common enemies."

6. When Chrysantas had finished this address, many others also both of the Persians and the allies rose to support him. They passed a resolution that the nobles should always be in attendance at court and be in readiness for whatever service Cyrus wished until he should dismiss them. And as they then resolved, so even unto this day those who are the subjects of the great king in Asia continue to do—they are constantly in attendance at the court of their princes. 7. And the institutions which Cyrus inaugurated as a means of securing the kingdom permanently to himself and the Persians, as has been set forth in the foregoing narrative, these the succeeding kings have preserved unchanged even to this day. 8. And it is the same with these as with everything else: whenever the officer in charge is better, the administration of the institutions is purer; but when he is worse, the administration is more corrupt.

Accordingly, the nobles came to Cyrus's court with their horses and their spears, for so it had been decreed by the best of those who with him had made the conquest of the kingdom.

9. Cyrus next appointed officers to have charge of the various departments; for example, tax-collectors, paymasters, boards of public works, keepers of his estates, and stewards of his commissary department. He appointed also as superintendents of his horses and hounds those who he thought would keep these creatures in a condition most efficient for his use.

Policies adopted

Cyrus appoints many officers

10. Οὓς δὲ συμφύλακας τῆς εὐδαιμονίας οἱ φέτο χρήναι ἔχειν, τούτους δπως ὡς βέλτιστοι ἔσοιντο οὐκέτι τούτου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἄλλοις προσέταττεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐνόμιζε τοῦτο ἔργον εἶναι. ἥδει γὰρ ὅτι, εἴ τι μάχης ποτὲ δεήσοι, ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ παραστάτας καὶ ἐπιστάτας ληπτέον εἴη, σὺν οἰσπερ οἱ μέγιστοι κίνδυνοι καὶ ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων ἐγλυγνωσκεν ἐκ τούτων καταστατέον εἶναι. 11. εἰ δὲ δέοις καὶ στρατηγῶν που ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, ἥδει ὅτι ἐκ τούτων πεμπτέον εἴη καὶ πόλεων δὲ καὶ δλων ἐθνῶν φύλαξι καὶ σατράπαις ἥδει ὅτι τούτων τισὶν εἴη χρηστέον καὶ πρέσβεις γε τούτων τινὰς πεμπτέον, δπερ ἐν τοῖς μέγιστοις ἥγεῖτο εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἄνευ πολέμου τυγχάνειν ὃν δέοιτο.

12. Μὴ δύτων μὲν οὖν οἶων δεῖ δι' ὃν αἱ μέγισται καὶ πλεῖσται πράξεις ἔμελλον εἶναι, κακῶς ἥγεῖτο τὰ αὐτοῦ ἔξειν. εἰ δ' οὗτοι εἰεν οἶους δέοι, πάντα ἐνόμιζε καλῶς ἔσεσθαι. ἐνέδυ μὲν οὖν οὕτω γνοὺς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἐνόμιζε δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτῷ ἀσκησιν εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς. οὐ γὰρ φέτο οἶόν τε εἶναι μὴ αὐτόν τινα δύτα οἷον δεῖ ἄλλους παρορμᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔργα.

13. Ως δὲ ταῦτα διενοήθη, ἥγησατο σχολῆς

10. But he did not in the same way leave to others the precaution of seeing that those whom he thought he ought to have as his associates in establishing the permanence of his success should be the ablest men available, but he considered that this responsibility was his own. For he knew that if ever there should be occasion for fighting, he would then have to select from their number men to stand beside and behind him, men in whose company also he would have to meet the greatest dangers; from their number likewise he knew that he would have to appoint his captains both of foot and of horse.

11. Besides, if generals should be needed where he himself could not be, he knew that they would have to be commissioned from among that same number. And he knew that he must employ some of these to be governors and satraps of cities or of whole nations, and that he must send others on embassies—an office which he considered of the very first importance for obtaining without war whatever he might want.

12. If, therefore, those by whom the most numerous and most important affairs of state were to be transacted were not what they ought to be, he thought that his government would be a failure. But if they were all that they ought to be, he believed that everything would succeed. In this conviction, therefore, he took upon himself this charge; and he determined that the same practice of virtue should be his as well. For he thought that it was not possible for him to incite others to good and noble deeds, if he were not himself such as he ought to be.

13. When he had arrived at this conclusion, he

The importance of wise appointments

πρῶτον δεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι δυνήσεσθαι τῶν κρατίστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.¹ τὸ μὲν οὖν προσόδων ἀμελεῖν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, προνοῶν ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ τελεῖν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο εἰς μεγάλην ἀρχήν· τὸ δ' αὖ πολλῶν κτημάτων δύντων ἀμφὶ ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἔχειν ἥδει ὅτι ἀσχολίαν παρέξει τῆς τῶν ὅλων σωτηρίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.¹

14. Οὕτω δὴ σκοπῶν, ὅπως ἀν τά τε οἰκονομικὰ καλῶς ἔχοι καὶ ἡ σχολὴ γένοιτο, κατενόησέ πως τὴν στρατιωτικὴν σύνταξιν. ὡς γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ δεκάδαρχοι μὲν δεκαδέων ἐπιμέλουνται, λοχαγοὶ δὲ δεκαδάρχων, χιλιάρχοι δὲ λοχαγῶν, μυριάρχοι δὲ χιλιάρχων, καὶ οὕτως οὐδεὶς ἀτημέλητος γίγνεται, οὐδὲ ἦν πάνυ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ὥστε, καὶ ὅταν ὁ στρατηγὸς βούληται χρήσασθαι τι τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀρκεῖ ἦν τοῖς μυριάρχοις παραγγείλῃ.

15. ὕσπερ οὖν ταῦτ' ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κύρος συνεκεφαλαιώσατο τὰς οἰκονομικὰς πράξεις· ὕστε καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐγένετο ὅλγοις διαλεγομένῳ μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων ἀτημελήτως ἔχειν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἥδη σχολὴν ἥγε πλείω ἡ ἄλλος μᾶς οἰκίας καὶ μιᾶς νεώς ἐπιμελόμενος.

Οὕτω δὴ καταστησάμενος τὸ αὐτοῦ ἑδίδαξε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ταύτη τῇ καταστάσει χρήσθαι.

16. Τὴν μὲν δὴ σχολὴν οὕτω κατεσκευάσατο αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, ἥρχετο δὲ ἐπιστατεῖν

¹ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι MSS., most Edd.; ἐπιμέλεσθαι Hug.

thought, first of all, that he needed leisure if he were to be able to confine his attention to affairs of paramount importance. He decided, then, that it was out of the question for him to neglect the revenues, for he foresaw that there would necessarily be enormous expenses connected with a vast empire ; and on the other hand, he knew that for him to be constantly engaged in giving his personal attention to his manifold possessions would leave him with no time to care for the welfare of the whole realm.

14. As he thus pondered how the business of administration might be successfully conducted and how he still might have the desired leisure, he somehow happened to think of his military organization : in general, the sergeants care for the ten men under them, the lieutenants for the sergeants, the colonels for the lieutenants, the generals for the colonels, and thus no one is uncared for, even though there be many brigades ; and when the commander-in-chief wishes to do anything with his army, it is sufficient for him to issue his commands only to his brigadier-generals. 15. On this same model, then, Cyrus centralized the administrative functions also. And so it was possible for him, by communicating with only a few officers, to have no part of his administration uncared for. In this way he now enjoyed more leisure than one who has care of a single household or a single ship.

When he had thus organized his own functions in the government, he instructed those about him to follow the same plan of organization.

16. In this way, then, he secured leisure for himself and for his ministers ; and then he began to

*He models
his civil
service after
the army*

τοῦ εἶναι οἶους δεῖ τοὺς κοινῶνας. πρῶτον μὲν ὅπόσοι δύτες ἵκανοὶ ἄλλων ἐργαζομένων τρέφεσθαι μὴ παρεῖνεν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, τούτους ἐπεξήγητει, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν παρόντας οὐκ ἀν ἔθέλειν οὔτε κακὸν οὔτε αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν πράττειν καὶ διὰ τὸ παρ' ἄρχοντι εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι ὁρῶντ' ἀν ὅ τι πράττοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίστων· οὐ δὲ μὴ παρεῖνεν, τούτους ἡγεῖτο ἡ ἀκρατείᾳ τινὶ ἡ ἀδικίᾳ ἡ ἀμελείᾳ ἀπεῖναι.

17. Τοῦτο οὖν πρῶτον διηγησόμεθα ώς προσηνάγκαζε τοὺς τοιούτους παρεῖναι. τῶν γὰρ παρ' ἑαυτῷ μάλιστα φίλων ἐκέλευσεν ἀν τινα λαβεῖν τὰ τοῦ μὴ φοιτῶντος, φάσκοντα λαμβάνειν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ οὖν τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἥκον ἀν εὐθὺς οἱ στερόμενοι ώς ἡδικημένοι. 18. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πολὺν μὲν χρόνον οὐκ ἐσχόλαζε τοὺς τοιούτοις ὑπακούειν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκούσειεν αὐτῶν, πολὺν χρόνον ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν διαδικασίαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν ἡγεῖτο προσεθίζειν αὐτοὺς θεραπεύειν, ἥττον δὲ ἐχθρῶς ἡ εἰ αὐτὸς κολάζων ἡνάγκαζε παρεῖναι.

19. Εἰς μὲν τρόπος διδασκαλίας ἦν αὐτῷ οὕτος τοῦ παρεῖναι. ἄλλος δὲ τὸ τὰ φᾶστα καὶ κερδαλεώτατα τοῖς παροῦσι προστάττειν. ἄλλος δὲ τὸ μηδέν ποτε τοῖς ἀποῦσι νέμειν. 20. ὁ δὲ δὴ

take measures that his associates in power should be such as they ought to be. In the first place, if any of those who were able to live by the labours of others failed to attend at court, he made inquiry after them; for he thought that those who came would not be willing to do anything dishonourable or immoral, partly because they were in the presence of their sovereign and partly also because they knew that, whatever they did, they would be under the eyes of the best men there; whereas, in the case of those who did not come he believed that they absented themselves because they were guilty of some form of intemperance or injustice or neglect of duty.

17. We will describe first, therefore, the manner in which he obliged all such to come; he would direct some one of the best friends he had at court to seize some of the property of the man who did not present himself and to declare that he was taking only what was his own. So, whenever this happened, those who lost their effects would come to him to complain that they had been wronged. 18. Cyrus, however, would not be at leisure for a long time to give such men a hearing, and when he did give them a hearing he would postpone the trial for a long time. By so doing he thought he would accustom them to pay their court and that he would thus excite less ill-feeling than he would if he compelled them to come by imposing penalties.

19. That was one of his methods of training them to attend. Another was to give those who did attend the easiest and the most profitable employment; and another was never to distribute any favours among those who failed to attend. 20. But the

*How he
enforced the
discipline*

μέγιστος τρόπος τῆς ἀνάγκης ἦν, εἰ τούτων μηδέν τις ὑπακούοι, ἀφελόμενος ἀν τοῦτον ἂ ἔχοι ἄλλῳ ἐδίδου δν φέτο [δύνασθαι]¹ ἀν ἐν τῷ δέοντι παρεῖναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐγίγνετο αὐτῷ φίλος χρήσιμος ἀντὶ ἀχρήστου. ἐπιζητεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύς, ἦν τις ἀπῇ οἱς παρεῖναι καθήκει.

21. Τοῖς μὲν δὴ μὴ παροῦσιν οὕτω προσεφέρετο· τοὺς δὲ παρέχοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐνόμισε μάλιστ' ἀν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ κάγαθὰ ἐπαίρειν, ἐπείπερ ἄρχων ἦν αὐτῶν, εἰ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδεικνύειν πειρώτο τοῖς ἄρχομένοις πάντων μάλιστα κεκοσμημένον τῇ ἀρετῇ. 22. αἰσθάνεσθαι μὲν γάρ ἐδόκει καὶ διὰ τοὺς γραφομένους νόμους βελτίους γιγνομένους ἀνθρώπους· τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα βλέποντα νόμον ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμισεν, δτι καὶ τάττειν ἰκανός ἔστι καὶ ὄρāν τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα καὶ κολάζειν.

23. Οὕτω δὴ γυγνώσκων πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μᾶλλον ἐκπονοῦντα ἐπεδείκνυντα ἑαυτὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ εὑδαιμονέστερος ἦν. καὶ τότε πρῶτον κατεστάθησαν οἱ μάγοι . . .² ὑμνεῦν τε ἀεὶ ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ θύειν ἀν' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν οἱ οἱ μάγοι θεοῖς εἴποιεν. 24. οὕτω δὴ τὰ τότε κατασταθέντα ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρὰ τῷ ἀεὶ δητι βασιλεῖ. ταῦτ' οὖν πρῶτον ἐμιμοῦντο αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι, νομίζοντες καὶ αὐτὸν εὑδαιμονέστεροι ἔσεσθαι, ἦν θεραπεύωσι τοὺς θεούς, ὥσπερ ὁ

¹ δύνασθαι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; [δύνασθαι] Nitsche, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

² Lacuna discovered by Hug, adopted by Marchant, Gemoll (*ἐκ τούτου δὲ αὐτὸς ἤρχετο—and in consequence of this he himself began*).

surest way of compulsion was this : if a man paid no attention to any of these three methods, he would take away all that he had and give it to some one else who he thought would present himself when he was wanted ; and thus he would get a useful friend in exchange for a useless one. And the king to-day likewise makes inquiries if any one absents himself whose duty it is to be present.

21. Thus, then, he dealt with those who failed to attend at court. But in those who did present themselves he believed that he could in no way more effectively inspire a desire for the beautiful and the good than by endeavouring, as their sovereign, to set before his subjects a perfect model of virtue in his own person. 22. For he thought he perceived that men are made better through even the written law, while the good ruler he regarded as a law with eyes for men, because he is able not only to give commandments but also to see the transgressor and punish him.

23. In this conviction, he showed himself in the (1) religion, first place more devout in his worship of the gods, now that he was more fortunate ; and then for the first time the college of magi was instituted . . . and he never failed to sing hymns to the gods at daybreak and to sacrifice daily to whatsoever deities the magi directed. 24. Thus the institutions established by him at that time have continued in force with each successive king even to this day. In this respect, therefore, the rest of the Persians also imitated him from the first ; for they believed that they would be more sure of good fortune if they revered the gods just as he did who was their

Cyrus
resolves to
be a model
in

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εὐδαιμονέστατός τε ὡν καὶ ἄρχων· καὶ Κύρῳ
 δ' ἀν ἥγοῦντο ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἀρέσκειν. 25. ὁ
 δὲ Κῦρος τὴν τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ εὐσέβειαν καὶ
 ἑαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν ἐνόμιζε, λογιζόμενος ὅσπερ οἱ
 πλεῖν αἰρούμενοι μετὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν μᾶλλον ἦ
 μετὰ τῶν ἡσεβηκέναι τι δοκούντων. πρὸς δὲ
 τούτοις ἐλογίζετο ὡς εἰ πάντες οἱ κοινῶνες θεο-
 σεβεῖς εἰεν, ἥττον ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐθέλειν περὶ τε
 ἀλλήλους ἀνόσιόν τι ποιεῖν καὶ περὶ ἑαυτόν,
 εὐεργέτης νομίζων εἶναι τῶν κοινώνων. 26. ἐμ-
 φανίζων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖτο
 μηδένα μῆτε φίλου ἀδικεῖν μῆτε σύμμαχον, ἀλλὰ
 τὸ δίκαιον ἴσχυρῶς ὄρῶν, μᾶλλον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 φέτ' ἀν τῶν μὲν αἰσχρῶν κερδῶν ἀπέχεσθαι,
 διὰ τοῦ δικαίου δ' ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι. 27. καὶ
 αἰδοῦς δ' ἀν ἥγεῖτο μᾶλλον πάντας ἐμπιμπλάναι,
 εἰ αὐτὸς φανερὸς εἴη πάντας οὔτως αἰδούμενος
 ὡς μήτ' εἰπεῖν ἀν μῆτε ποιῆσαι μηδὲν αἰσχρόν.
 28. ἐτεκμαίρετο δὲ τοῦτο οὔτως ἔξειν ἐκ τοῦδε
 μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἄρχοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὓς οὐ φοβοῦνται,
 μᾶλλον τοὺς αἰδουμένους αἰδοῦνται τῶν ἀναιδῶν
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι· καὶ γυναῖκας δὲ ἂς ἀν αἰδουμένας
 αἰσθάνωνται, ἀνταιδεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσιν
 ὄρωντες.

29. Τὸ δ' αὖ πείθεσθαι οὕτω μάλιστ' ἀν ὥετο
 ἔμμονον εἶναι τοὺς περὶ αὐτόν, εἰ τοὺς ἀπρο-
 φασίστως πειθομένους φανερὸς εἴη μᾶλλον τιμῶν
 τῶν τὰς μεγίστας ἀρετὰς καὶ ἐπιπονωτάτας δο-

sovereign and the most fortunate of all ; and they thought also that in doing this they would please Cyrus. 25. And Cyrus considered that the piety of his friends was a good thing for him, too ; for he reasoned as they do who prefer, when embarking on a voyage, to set sail with pious companions rather than with those who are believed to have committed some impiety. And besides, he reasoned that if all his associates were god-fearing men, they would be less inclined to commit crime against one another or against himself, for he considered himself their benefactor ; 26. and if he made it plain how important he held it to be to wrong no one of his friends or allies, and if he always paid scrupulous regard to what was upright, others also, he thought, would be more likely to abstain from improper gains and to endeavour to make their way by upright methods. 27. And he thought that he should be more likely to inspire in all respect for others, if he himself were seen to show such respect for all as not to say or do anything improper. 28. And that this would be the result he concluded from the following observation : people have more respect for those who have such respect for others than they have for those who have not ; they show it toward even those whom they do not fear—to say nothing of what they would show toward their kings ; and women also whom they see showing respect for others they are more inclined to look upon in turn with respect.

29. And again, obedience he thought would be most deeply impressed upon his attendants, if he showed that he honoured those who unhesitatingly obeyed more than those who thought they exhibited

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κούντων παρέχεσθαι. γυγνώσκων δ' οὗτω καὶ ποιῶν διέτέλει.

30. Καὶ σωφροσύνην δ' αὐτοῦ¹ ἐπιδεικνὺς μᾶλλον ἐποίει καὶ ταύτην πάντας ἀσκεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ ὄρωσιν, φ' μάλιστα ἔξεστιν ὑβρίζειν, τοῦτον σωφρονοῦντα, οὕτω μᾶλλον οὐ γε ἀσθενέστεροι ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ποιοῦντες φανεροὶ εἶναι. 31. [διήρει δὲ αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην τῇδε, ὡς τοὺς μὲν αἰδουμένους τὰ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ αἰσχρὰ φεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ.]² 32. καὶ ἐγκράτειαν δὲ οὕτω μάλιστ' ἀν φέτο ἀσκεῖσθαι, εἰ αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύοι ἑαυτὸν μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν παραυτίκα ἥδονῶν ἐλκόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ προπονεῖν ἐθέλοντα πρῶτον σὺν τῷ καλῷ τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν.

33. Τοιγαροῦν τοιοῦτος ὧν ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις πολλὴν μὲν τῶν χειρόνων εὐταξίαν, ὑπεκόντων τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, πολλὴν δ' αἰδῶ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἐπέγνως δ' ἀν ἐκεῖ οὐδένα οὔτε ὀργιζόμενον κραυγῇ οὔτε χαίροντα ὑβριστικῷ γέλωτι, ἀλλὰ ἵδων ἀν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσω τῷ δύντι εἰς κάλλος ζῆν.

34. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ποιοῦντες καὶ δρῶντες ἐπὶ θύραις διῆργον. τῆς πολεμικῆς δ' ἐνεκα ἀσκήσεως ἐπὶ θήραν ἔξῆγεν οὕσπερ ἀσκεῖν ταῦτα φέτο χρῆναι, ταύτην ἡγούμενος καὶ δλως ἀρίστην

¹ αὐτοῦ Edd.; αὐτοῦ MSS.

² διήρει . . . ἀφανεῖ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Nitsche, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

the greatest and most elaborate virtues. And thus he continued throughout to judge and to act.

30. And by making his own self-control an example, (5) temperance he disposed all to practise that virtue more diligently. For when the weaker members of society see that one who is in a position where he may indulge himself to excess is still under self-control, they naturally strive all the more not to be found guilty of any excessive indulgence. 31. [Moreover, he distinguished between considerateness and self-control in this way: the considerate are those who avoid what is offensive when seen; the self-controlled avoid that which is offensive, even when unseen.] 32. And he thought that temperance could be best inculcated, if he showed that he himself was never carried away from the pursuit of the good by any pleasures of the moment, but that he was willing to labour first for the attainment of refined pleasures.

33. To sum up, then, by setting such an example Cyrus secured at court great correctness of conduct on the part of his subordinates, who gave precedence to their superiors; and thus he also secured from them a great degree of respect and politeness toward one another. And among them you would never have detected any one raising his voice in anger or giving vent to his delight in boisterous laughter; but on seeing them you would have judged that they were in truth making a noble life their aim.

34. Such was what they did and such what they witnessed day by day at court. With a view to training in the arts of war, Cyrus used to take out hunting those who he thought ought to have such practice, for he held that this was altogether the best

The chase as
a means of
discipline

ἀσκησιν πολεμικῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἵππικῆς δὲ ἀληθε-
στάτην. 35. καὶ γὰρ ἐπόχους ἐν παντοδαποῖς
χωρίοις αὐτῇ μάλιστα ἀποδείκνυσι διὰ τὸ θη-
ρίοις φεύγουσιν ἐφέπεσθαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡππων
ἐνεργοὺς αὐτῇ μάλιστα ἀπεργάζεται διὰ τὴν
τοῦ λαμβάνειν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν. 36. καὶ
τὴν ἐγκράτειαν δὲ καὶ πόνους καὶ ψύχη καὶ
θάλπη καὶ λιμὸν καὶ δίψος δύνασθαι φέρειν
ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα προσείθιζε τοὺς κοινῶνας. καὶ
νῦν δὲ ἔτι βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ βασιλέα
ταῦτα ποιοῦντες διατελοῦσιν.

37. "Οτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ φέτο προσήκειν οὐδενὶ¹
ἀρχῆς δστις μὴ βελτίων εἴη τῶν ἀρχομένων καὶ
τοῖς προειρημένοις πᾶσι δῆλον, καὶ δτι οὗτως
ἀσκῶν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πολὺ μάλιστα αὐτὸς
ἔξεπόνει καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς
τέχνας καὶ [τὰς]¹ μελέτας. 38. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ θήραν
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔξηγεν, ὅπότε μὴ μένειν ἀνάγκη
τις εἴη· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ὅπότε ἀνάγκη εἴη, οἴκοι
ἔθήρα τὰ ἐν τοῖς παραδείσοις θηρία τρεφόμενα· καὶ
οὗτ' αὐτός ποτε πρὶν ἴδρωσαι δεῦπνον ἥρεῖτο οὕτε
Ἴπποις ἀγυμνάστοις σῆπον ἐνέβαλλε· συμπαρε-
κάλει δὲ καὶ εἰς ταύτην τὴν θήραν τοὺς περὶ²
αὐτὸν σκηπτούχους. 39. τοιγαροῦν πολὺ μὲν
αὐτὸς διέφερεν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις, πολὺ³
δὲ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον, διὰ τὴν ἀεὶ μελέτην. παρά-
δειγμα μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἑαυτὸν παρείχετο.

Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὔστινας μάλιστα

¹ τὰς MSS., Dindorf², Breitenbach; [τὰς] Dindorf⁴, Hertlein, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

training in military science and also the truest in horsemanship. 35. For it is the exercise best adapted to give riders a firm seat in all sorts of places, because they have to pursue the animals wherever they may run; and it is also the best exercise to make them active on horseback because of their rivalry and eagerness to get the game. 36. By this same exercise, too, he was best able to accustom his associates to temperance and the endurance of hardship, to heat and cold, to hunger and thirst. And even to this day the king and the rest that make up his retinue continue to engage in the same sport.

37. From all that has been said, therefore, it is evident that he believed that no one had any right to rule who was not better than his subjects; and it is evident, too, that in thus drilling those about him he himself got his own best training both in temperance and in the arts and pursuits of war. 38. For he not only used to take the others out hunting, whenever there was no need of his staying at home, but even when there was some need of his staying at home, he would himself hunt the animals that were kept in the parks. And he never dined without first having got himself into a sweat, nor would he have any food given to his horses without their having first been duly exercised; and to these hunts he would invite also the mace-bearers in attendance upon him. 39. The result of all this constant training was that Excellence encouraged he and his associates greatly excelled in all manly exercises. Such an example did he furnish by his own personal conduct.

And besides this, he used to reward with gifts and

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όρφη τὰ καλὰ διώκοντας, τούτους καὶ δώροις
καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἔδραις καὶ πάσαις τιμαῖς ἐγέραιρεν.
ῶστε πολλὴν πᾶσι φιλοτιμίαν ἐνέβαλλεν δπως
ἔκαστος ὅτι ἄριστος φανήσοιτο Κύρῳ.

40. Καταμαθεῖν δὲ τοῦ Κύρου δοκοῦμεν ὡς οὐ
τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐνόμιζε χρῆναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν
ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν, τῷ βελτίονας αὐτῶν εἶναι,
ἄλλα καὶ καταγοητεύειν φέτο χρῆναι αὐτούς.
στολήν τε γοῦν εἶλετο τὴν Μηδικὴν αὐτός τε
φορεῖν καὶ τοὺς κοινῶνας ταύτην ἔπεισεν ἐν-
δύεσθαι αὐτῇ γὰρ αὐτῷ συγκρύπτειν ἐδόκει εἴ-
τις τι ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐνδεὲς ἔχοι, καὶ καλλί-
στους καὶ μεγίστους ἐπιδεικνύναι τοὺς φοροῦντας.
41. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματα τοιαῦτα ἔχουσιν ἐν
οἷς μάλιστα λαθεῖν ἔστι καὶ ὑποτιθεμένους τι,
ῶστε δοκεῖν μείζους εἶναι ή εἰσί. καὶ ὑποχρίεσθαι
δὲ τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς προσίετο, ὡς εὐοφθαλμότεροι
φαίνοιντο ή εἰσί, καὶ ἐντρίβεσθαι, ὡς εὐχροώτεροι
ὄρφντο ή πεφύκασιν.

42. Ἐμελέτησε δὲ καὶ ὡς μὴ πτύοντες μηδὲ
ἀπομυττόμενοι φανερὸν εἶν, μηδὲ μεταστρεφόμενοι
ἐπὶ θέαν μηδενός, ὡς οὐδὲν θαυμάζοντες. πάντα
δὲ ταῦτα φέτο φέρειν τι εἰς τὸ δυσκαταφρονητο-
τέρους φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.

43. Οὓς μὲν δὴ ἄρχειν φέτο χρῆναι, δι' ἕαυτοῦ
οὕτω κατεσκεύασε καὶ μελέτη καὶ τῷ σεμνῶς
προεστάναι αὐτῶν οὓς δ' αὖ κατεσκεύαζεν εἰς τὸ
δουλεύειν, τούτους οὔτε μελετᾶν τῶν ἐλευθερίων

positions of authority and seats of honour and all sorts of preferment others whom he saw devoting themselves most eagerly to the attainment of excellence; and thus he inspired in all an earnest ambition, each striving to appear as deserving as he could in the eyes of Cyrus.

40. We think, furthermore, that we have observed in Cyrus that he held the opinion that a ruler ought to excel his subjects not only in point of being actually better than they, but that he ought also to cast a sort of spell upon them. At any rate, he chose to wear the Median dress himself and persuaded his associates also to adopt it; for he thought that if any one had any personal defect, that dress would help to conceal it, and that it made the wearer look very tall and very handsome. 41. For they have shoes of such a form that without being detected the wearer can easily put something into the soles so as to make him look taller than he is. He encouraged also the fashion of pencilling the eyes, that they might seem more lustrous than they are, and of using cosmetics to make the complexion look better than nature made it.

42. He trained his associates also not to spit or to wipe the nose in public, and not to turn round to look at anything, as being men who wondered at nothing. All this he thought contributed, in some measure, to their appearing to their subjects men who could not lightly be despised.

43. Those, therefore, who he thought ought to be in authority he thus prepared in his own school by careful training as well as by the respect which he commanded as their leader; those, on the other hand, whom he was training to be servants he did

He adopts
the Median
costume

His policy
toward the
servant
class

πόνων οὐδένα παρώρμα οὕθ' ὅπλα κεκτῆσθαι ἐπέτρεπεν ἐπεμέλετο δὲ ὅπως μήτε ἄσιτοι μήτε ἄποτοί ποτε ἔσοιντο ἐλευθερίων ἔνεκα μελετημάτων. 44. καὶ γὰρ ὅπότε ἐλαύνοιεν τὰ θηρία τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν εἰς τὰ πεδία, φέρεσθαι σῖτον εἰς θήραν τούτοις ἐπέτρεπε, τῶν δὲ ἐλευθέρων οὐδενί· καὶ ὅπότε πορεία εἴη, ἥγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ ὕδατα ὕσπερ τὰ ὑποξύγια. καὶ ὅπότε δὲ ὥρα εἴη ἀρίστου, ἀνέμενεν αὐτοὺς ἔστε ἐμφάγοιέν τι, ὡς μὴ βουλιμιφεν ὕστε καὶ οὗτοι αὐτὸν ὕσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι πατέρα ἐκάλουν, δτι ἐπεμέλετο αὐτῶν [ὅπως ἀναμφιλόγως ἀεὶ ἀνδράποδα διατελοῖεν].¹

45. Τῇ μὲν δὴ ὅλῃ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ οὔτω τὴν ἀσφάλειαν κατεσκεύαζεν. ἔαυτῷ δὲ δτι μὲν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν καταστραφέντων κίνδυνος εἴη παθεῖν τι ἰσχυρῶς ἐθάρρει· καὶ γὰρ ἀνάλκιδας ἥγειτο εἶναι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσυντάκτους δητας ἐώρα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τούτων οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας. 46. οὓς δὲ κρατίστους τε ἥγειτο καὶ ὠπλισμένους καὶ ἀθρόους δητας ἐώρα —καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἦδει ἱππέων ἥγεμόνας δητας, τοὺς δὲ πεζῶν πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φρονήματα ἔχοντας ἥσθάνετο ως ἴκανοὺς δητας ἄρχειν· καὶ τοῖς φύλαξι δὲ αὐτοῦ οὗτοι μάλιστα

¹ ὅπως . . . διατελοῖεν MSS., most Edd.; bracketed by Cobet, Hug.

not encourage to practise any of the exercises of freemen ; neither did he allow them to own weapons ; but he took care that they should not suffer any deprivation in food or drink on account of the exercises in which they served the freemen. 44. And he managed it in this way : whenever they were to drive the animals down into the plains for the horsemen, he allowed those of the lower classes, but none of the freemen, to take food with them on the hunt ; and whenever there was an expedition to make, he would lead the serving men to water, just as he did the beasts of burden. And again, when it was time for luncheon, he would wait for them until they could get something to eat, so that they should not get so ravenously hungry. And so this class also called him "father," just as the nobles did, for he provided for them well [so that they might spend all their lives as slaves, without a protest].

45. Thus he secured for the whole Persian empire ^{His personal security} the necessary stability ; and as for himself, he was perfectly confident that there was no danger of his suffering aught at the hands of those whom he had subdued. And the ground of his confidence was this—that he believed them to be powerless and he saw that they were unorganized ; and besides that, not one of them came near him either by night or by day. 46. But there were some whom he considered very powerful and whom he saw well armed and well organized ; and some of them, he knew, had cavalry under their command, others infantry ; and he was aware that many of them had the assurance to think that they were competent to rule ; and these not only came in very close touch with his guards but

ἐπλησίαζον, καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ τούτων πολλοὶ πολλάκις συνεμίγνυσαν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν, ὃ τι καὶ χρῆσθαι ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς—ὑπὸ τούτων οὖν καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν αὐτὸν μάλιστα παθεῖν τι κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους.

47. Σκοπῶν οὖν ὅπως ἀν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀκίνδυνα γένοιτο, τὸ μὲν περιελέσθαι αὐτῶν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἀπολέμους ποιῆσαι ἀπεδοκίμασε, καὶ ἄδικον ἥγούμενος καὶ κατάλυσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτην νομίζων· τὸ δὲ αὖ μὴ προσίεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἀπιστοῦντα φανερὸν εἶναι ἀρχὴν ἥγήσατο πολέμου. 48. ἐν δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων τούτων ἔγνω καὶ κράτιστον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κάλλιστον, εἰ δύναιτο ποιῆσαι τοὺς κρατίστους ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους ἢ ἀλλήλους. ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἡμῖν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι.

II

1. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ διὰ παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ χρόνου φιλανθρωπίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἐδύνατο μάλιστα ἐνεφάνιζεν, ἥγούμενος, ὥσπερ οὐ ράδιόν ἐστι φιλεῖν τοὺς μισεῖν δοκοῦντας οὐδὲ εὔνοεῖν τοῖς κακόνοις, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς γνωσθέντας ὡς φιλοῦσι καὶ εὔνοούσιν, οὐκ ἀν δύνασθαι μισεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλεῖσθαι ἥγουμένων.

2. Ἔως μὲν οὖν χρήμασιν ἀδυνατώτερος ἦν εὐεργετεῖν, τῷ τε προνοεῖν τῶν συνόντων καὶ τῷ

many of them came frequently in contact with Cyrus himself, and this was unavoidable if he was to make any use of them—this, then, was the quarter from which there was the greatest danger that something might happen to him in any one of many ways.

47. So, as he cast about in his mind how to remove any danger that might arise from them also, he rejected the thought of disarming them and making them incapable of war; for he decided that that would be unjust, and besides he thought that this would be destruction to his empire. On the other hand, he believed that to refuse to admit them to his presence or to show that he mistrusted them would lead at once to hostilities. 48. But better than any of these ways, he recognized that there was one course that would be at once the most honourable and the most conducive to his own personal security, and that was, if possible, to make those powerful nobles better friends to himself than to one another. We shall, therefore, attempt to explain the method that he seems to have taken to gain their friendship.

II

1. In the first place, then, he showed at all times as great kindness of heart as he could; for he believed that just as it is not easy to love those who seem to hate us, or to cherish good-will toward those who bear us ill-will, in the same way those who are known to love and to cherish good-will could not be hated by those who believe themselves loved.

2. During the time, therefore, when he was not yet quite able to do favours through gifts of money,

How Cyrus
made him-
self popular

προπονεῖν καὶ τῷ συνηδόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς φανερὸς εἶναι, συνάχθόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς, τούτοις ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν φιλίαν θηρεύειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ὥστε χρήμασιν εὐεργετεῖν, δοκεῖ ἡμῖν γυῶναι πρῶτον μὲν ὡς εὐεργέτημα ἀνθρώποις πρὸς ἄλληλους οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δαπάνης ἐπιχαριτώτερον ἢ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν μετάδοσις. 3. τοῦτο δὲ οὕτω νομίσας πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν συνέταξεν δπως οἱς αὐτὸς σιτοῦτο σίτοις, τούτοις δμοια ἀεὶ παρατίθοιτο αὐτῷ ἵκανὰ παμπόλλοις ἀνθρώποις· δσα δὲ παρατεθείη, ταῦτα πάντα, πλὴν οἱς αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ σύνδειπνοι χρήσαιντο, διεδίδουν οἱς δὴ βούλοιτο τῶν φίλων μυήμην ἐνδείκνυσθαι ἢ φιλοφροσύνην. διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ τούτοις οὓς ἀγασθείη ἢ ἐν φυλακαῖς ἢ ἐν θεραπείαις ἢ ἐν αἰστισινοῦν πράξεσιν, ἐνσημανόμενος δτι οὐκ ἀν λανθάνοιεν χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι.

4. Ἐτίμα δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὅπότε τινὰ ἐπαινέσειε· καὶ τὸν πάντα δὲ σῖτον τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν ἐπετίθετο, οἰόμενος ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς κυστὶν ἐμποιεῖν τινα καὶ τοῦτο εὔνοιαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι τινα βούλοιτο τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ πολλῶν, καὶ τούτοις ἐπεμπεν ἀπὸ τραπέζης· καὶ νῦν γὰρ ἔτι οἱς ἀν ὄρῶσι πεμπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέως τραπέζης, τούτους πάντες μᾶλλον θεραπεύουσι, νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἐντίμους εἶναι καὶ ἵκανοὺς δια-

he tried to win the love of those about him by taking forethought for them and labouring for them and showing that he rejoiced with them in their good fortune and sympathized with them in their mishaps ; and after he found himself in a position to do favours with money, he seems to us to have recognized from the start that there is no kindness which men can show one another, with the same amount of expenditure, more acceptable than sharing meat and drink with them. 3. In this belief, he first of all arranged that there should be placed upon his own table a quantity of food, like that of which he himself regularly partook, sufficient for a very large number of people ; and all of that which was served to him, except what he and his companions at table consumed, he distributed among those of his friends to whom he wished to send remembrances or good wishes. And he used to send such presents around to those also whose services on garrison duty or in attendance upon him or in any other way met with his approval ; in this way he let them see that he did not fail to observe their wish to please him.

The nearest
way to a
man's heart

4. He used also to honour with presents from his table any one of his servants whom he took occasion to commend ; and he had all of his servants' food served from his own table, for he thought that this would implant in them a certain amount of good-will, just as it does in dogs. And if he wished to have any one of his friends courted by the multitude, to such a one he would send presents from his table. And that device proved effective ; for even to this day everybody pays more diligent court to those to whom they see things sent from the royal table ; for they think that such persons must be in high favour

πράττειν, ἢν τι δέωνται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ οὐ τούτων μόνου ἔνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων εὐφραίνει τὰ πεμπόμενα παρὰ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τῷ δυτὶ καὶ ἡδονῇ πολὺ διαφέρει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέως τραπέζης.

5. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι οὕτως ἔχειν οὐδέν τι θαυμαστόν· ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι διαφερόντως ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσιν ἔξειργασμέναι εἰσὶ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ παρὰ βασιλεῖ σῆτα πολὺ διαφερόντως ἐκπεπόνηται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσι κλίνην, θύραν, ἄροτρον, τράπεζαν, πολλάκις δ' ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος καὶ οἰκοδομεῖ, καὶ ἀγαπᾷ ἢν καὶ οὕτως ἴκανοὺς αὐτὸν τρέφειν ἐργοδότας λαμβάνῃ· ἀδύνατον οὖν πολλὰ τεχνώμενον ἄνθρωπον πάντα καλῶς ποιεῖν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἑκάστου δεῖσθαι ἀρκεῖ καὶ μία ἑκάστῳ τέχνῃ εἰς τὸ τρέφεσθαι πολλάκις δὲ οὐδὲ ὅλη μία· ἀλλ' ὑποδήματα ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεῖα, ὁ δὲ γυναικεῖα· ἔστι δὲ ἔνθα καὶ ὑποδήματα ὁ μὲν νευρορραφῶν μόνον τρέφεται, ὁ δὲ σχίζων, ὁ δὲ χιτῶνας μόνον συντέμνων, ὁ δέ γε τούτων οὐδὲν ποιῶν ἀλλὰ συντιθεὶς ταῦτα. ἀνάγκη οὖν τὸν ἐν βραχυτάτῳ διατρίβοντα ἔργῳ τοῦτον καὶ ἀριστα δὴ ἡναγκάσθαι¹ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

6. Τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο πέπονθε καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν δίαιταν. φ μὲν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς κλίνην στρώνυστι, τράπεζαν κοσμεῖ, μάττει, δψα ἄλλοτε ἀλ-

¹ δὴ ἡναγκάσθαι Hertlein, Sauppe, Hug, Marchant; διηγαγκάσθαι xzv, Dindorf, Breitenbach; διενεγκάσθαι γ; δύγασθαι Gemoll.

and in a position to secure for them anything they may want. Moreover, it is not for these reasons only that that which is sent by the king gives delight, but the food that is sent from the king's board really is much superior in the gratification also that it gives. 5. That this, however, should be so is no marvel. For just as all other arts are developed to superior excellence in large cities, in that same way the food at the king's palace is also elaborately prepared with superior excellence. For in small towns the same workman makes chairs and doors and plows and tables, and often this same artisan builds houses, and even so he is thankful if he can only find employment enough to support him. And it is, of course, impossible for a man of many trades to be proficient in all of them. In large cities, on the other hand, inasmuch as many people have demands to make upon each branch of industry, one trade alone, and very often even less than a whole trade, is enough to support a man: one man, for instance, makes shoes for men, and another for women; and there are places even where one man earns a living by only stitching shoes, another by cutting them out, another by sewing the uppers together, while there is another who performs none of these operations but only assembles the parts. It follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that he who devotes himself to a very highly specialized line of work is bound to do it in the best possible manner.

Specialization desirable even in the kitchen

6. Exactly the same thing holds true also in reference to the kitchen: in any establishment where one and the same man arranges the dining couches, lays the table, bakes the bread, prepares now one sort of dish

λοῖα ποιεῖ, ἀνάγκη οἶμαι τούτῳ, ώς ἂν ἔκαστον προχωρῇ, οὕτως ἔχειν δπου δὲ ἵκανὸν ἔργον ἐνὶ ἔψειν κρέα, ἄλλῳ δπτᾶν, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἰχθὺν ἔψειν, ἄλλῳ δπτᾶν, ἄλλῳ ἄρτους ποιεῖν, καὶ μηδὲ τούτους παντοδαπούς, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ ἐὰν ἐν εἰδος εὐδοκιμοῦν παρέχῃ, ἀνάγκη οἶμαι καὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα πολὺ διαφερόντως ἔξειργάσθαι ἔκαστον.

7. Τῇ μὲν δὴ τῶν σίτων θεραπείᾳ τοιαῦτα ποιῶν πολὺ ὑπερεβάλλετο πάντας· ώς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι θεραπεύων πολὺ ἐκράτει, τοῦτο νῦν διηγήσομαι· πολὺ γάρ διενεγκὼν ἀνθρώπων τῷ πλείστας προσόδους λαμβάνειν πολὺ ἔτι πλέον διήνεγκε τῷ πλείστα ἀνθρώπων δωρεῖσθαι. κατῆρξε μὲν οὖν τούτου Κῦρος, διαμένει δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡ πολυδωρία. 8. τίνι μὲν γάρ φίλοι πλουσιώτεροι δύτες φανεροὶ ἡ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ; τίς δὲ κοσμῶν κάλλιον φαίνεται στολαῖς τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν¹ ἡ βασιλεύς; τίνος δὲ δῶρα γυγνώσκεται ὥσπερ ἔνια τῶν βασιλέως, ψέλια καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἵπποι χρυσοχάλινοι; οὐ γάρ δὴ ἔξεστιν ἐκεῖ ταῦτα ἔχειν ως ἂν μὴ βασιλεὺς δῷ. 9. τίς δ' ἄλλος λέγεται δώρων μεγέθει ποιεῖν αἱρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀντ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἀντὶ πατέρων καὶ ἀντὶ παΐδων; τίς δ' ἄλλος ἔδυνάσθη ἔχθροὺς ἀπέχοντας πολλῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν τιμωρεῖσθαι ώς Περσῶν βασιλεύς; τίς δ' ἄλλος καταστρεψάμενος ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ

¹ αὐτὸν Edd.; αὐτὸν MSS.

and now another, he must necessarily have things go as they may ; but where it is all one man can do to stew meats and another to roast them, for one man to boil fish and another to bake them, for another to make bread and not every sort at that, but where it suffices if he makes one kind that has a high reputation—everything that is prepared in such a kitchen will, I think, necessarily be worked out with superior excellence.

7. Accordingly, Cyrus far surpassed all others in ^{Cyrus lavish} the art of making much of his friends by gifts of ^{in his gifts} food. And how he far surpassed in every other way of courting favour, I will now explain. Though he far exceeded all other men in the amount of the revenues he received, yet he excelled still more in the quantity of presents he made. It was Cyrus, therefore, who began the practice of lavish giving, and among the kings it continues even to this day. 8. For who has richer friends to show than the Persian king ? Who is there that is known to adorn his friends with more beautiful robes than does the king ? Whose gifts are so readily recognized as some of those which the king gives, such as bracelets, necklaces, and horses with gold-studded bridles ? For, as everybody knows, no one over there is allowed to have such things except those to whom the king has given them. 9. And of whom else is it said that by the munificence of his gifts he makes himself preferred above even brothers and parents and children ? Who else was ever in a position like the Persian king to punish enemies who were distant a journey of many months ? And who, besides

XENOPHON

τῶν ἀρχομένων πατὴρ καλούμενος ἀπέθανεν ἡ Κῦρος; τοῦτο δὲ τοῦνομα δῆλον ὅτι εὐεργετοῦντός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἡ ἀφαιρουμένου. 10. κατεμάθομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς βασιλέως καλουμένους ὁφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰ βασιλέως ὡτα oὐκ ἄλλως ἐκτήσατο ἡ τῷ δωρεῖσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς γάρ ἀπαγγείλαντας ὅσα καιρὸς αὐτῷ εἴη πεπύσθαι μεγάλως εὐεργετῶν πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὡτακουστεῖν καὶ διοπτεύειν τί ἀν ἀγγείλαντες ὠφελήσειαν βασιλέα. 11. ἐκ τούτου δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ ἐνομίσθησαν βασιλέως ὁφθαλμοὶ καὶ πολλὰ ὡτα. εἰ δέ τις οἴεται ἔνα αἱρετὸν εἶναι ὁφθαλμὸν βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ὄρθως οἴεται· δλίγα γάρ εἰς γ' ἀν ἴδοι καὶ εἰς ἀκούσειε· καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὥσπερ ἀμελεῖν ἀν παρηγγελμένον¹ εἴη, εἰ ἐνὶ τοῦτο προστεταγμένον εἴη· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄντινα γυγνώσκοιεν ὁφθαλμὸν δύτα, τοῦτον ἀν εἰδεῖεν ὅτι φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φάσκοντος ἀκοῦσαι τι ἡ ἴδεῖν ἀξιον ἐπιμελεῖας παντὸς βασιλεὺς ἀκούει. 12. οὕτω δὴ πολλὰ μὲν βασιλέως ὡτα, πολλοὶ δὲ ὁφθαλμοὶ νομίζονται· καὶ φοβοῦνται πανταχοῦ λέγειν τὰ μὴ σύμφορα βασιλεῖ, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ ἀκούοντος, καὶ ποιεῖν ἀ μὴ σύμφορα, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ παρόντος. οὕκουν ὅπως μνησθῆναι ἄν τις ἐτόλμησε πρός τινα περὶ Κύρου φλαῦρόν τι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ὡσὶ βασιλέως τοῖς ἀεὶ παροῦσιν οὕτως ἔκαστος διέκειτο. τὸ δὲ οὕτω

¹ παρηγγελμένον Weckherlin, Dindorf⁴, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; παραγγελ(λ)όμενον MSS., Dindorf³, Breitenbach.

Cyrus, ever gained an empire by conquest and even to his death was called "father" by the people he had subdued? For that name obviously belongs to a benefactor rather than to a despoiler. 10. Moreover, we have discovered that he acquired the so-called "king's eyes" and "king's ears" in no other way than by bestowing presents and honours; for by rewarding liberally those who reported to him whatever it was to his interest to hear, he prompted many men to make it their business to use their eyes and ears to spy out what they could report to the king to his advantage. 11. As a natural result of this, many "eyes" and many "ears" were ascribed to the king. But if any one thinks that the king selected one man to be his "eye," he is wrong; for one only would see and one would hear but little; and it would have amounted to ordering all the rest to pay no attention, if one only had been appointed to see and hear. Besides, if people knew that a certain man was the "eye," they would know that they must beware of him. But such is not the case; for the king listens to anybody who may claim to have heard or seen anything worthy of attention. 12. And thus the saying comes about, "The king has many ears and many eyes"; and people are everywhere afraid to say anything to the discredit of the king, just as if he himself were listening; or to do anything to harm him, just as if he were present. Not only, therefore, would no one have ventured to say anything derogatory of Cyrus to any one else, but every one conducted himself at all times just as if those who were within hearing were so many eyes and ears of the king. I do not know what better

The "king's
eyes"
and "king's
ears"

Hdt. i. 114;
Aesch. Pers.
980

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διακεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα δὲ τι ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο μᾶλλον ἢ δτὶ μεγάλα ἥθελεν ἀντὶ μικρῶν εὐεργετεῖν.

13. Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ μεγέθει δώρων ὑπερβάλλειν πλουσιώτατον ὄντα οὐθαυμαστόν· τὸ δὲ τῇ θεραπείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν φίλων βασιλεύοντα περιγέγνεσθαι, τοῦτο ἀξιολογώτερον. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν λέγεται κατάδηλος εἶναι μηδενὶ ἀν οὗτος αἰσχυνθεὶς ἡττώμενος ὡς φίλων θεραπείᾳ· 14. καὶ λόγος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπομνημονεύεται ὡς λέγοι παραπλήσια ἔργα εἶναι νομέως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ· τόν τε γὰρ νομέα χρῆναι ἔφη εὐδαιμονα τὰ κτήνη ποιοῦντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἢ δὴ προβάτων εὐδαιμονία, τόν τε βασιλέα ώσαύτως εὐδαιμονας πόλεις καὶ ἀνθρώπους ποιοῦντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἴπερ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν γνώμην, τὸ φιλονίκως ἔχειν πάντων ἀνθρώπων θεραπείᾳ περιγέγνεσθαι. 15. καλὸν δὲ ἐπίδειγμα καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται Κῦρος ἐπιδεῖξαι Κροίσῳ, δτε ἐνοικέτει αὐτὸν ὡς διὰ τὸ πολλὰ διδόναι πένης ἔσοιτο, ἔξὸν αὐτῷ θησαυροὺς χρυσούς πλείστους ἐνί γε ἀνδρὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καταθέσθαι.

Καὶ τὸν Κῦρον λέγεται ἐρέσθαι, Καὶ πόσα ἀνηδη οἵει μοι χρήματα εἶναι, εἰ συνέλεγον χρυσίον ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις ἐξ δτου ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ είμι;

16. Καὶ τὸν Κροίσον εἴπειν πολύν τινα ἀριθμόν.

Καὶ τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς ταῦτα, "Ἄγε δή, φάναι, ὃ

reason any one could assign for this attitude toward him on the part of people generally than that it was his policy to do large favours in return for small ones.

13. That he, the richest man of all, should excel ^{Cyrus} in the munificence of his presents is not surprising; ^{exceeded in generosity}

but for him, the king, to exceed all others in thoughtful attention to his friends and in care for them, that is more remarkable; and it is said to have been no secret that there was nothing wherein he would have been so much ashamed of being outdone as in attention to his friends. 14. People quote a remark of his to the effect that the duties of a good shepherd and of a good king were very much alike; a good shepherd ought, while deriving benefit from his flocks, to make them happy (so far as sheep can be said to have happiness), and in the same way a king ought to make his people and his cities happy, if he would derive benefits from them. Seeing that he held this theory, it is not at all surprising that he was ambitious to surpass all other men in attention to his friends.

15. And, among other proofs, Cyrus is said to have given Croesus one splendid practical demonstration of the correctness of this theory, when the latter warned him that by giving so much away he would make himself poor, whereas he was in a position to lay up in his house more treasures of gold than any other man.

"And how much gold, pray," Cyrus is said to have asked, "do you think I should have by this time, if I had been amassing it, as you propose, ever since I have been in power?"

16. Croesus named some large sum.

"Well, then, Croesus," said Cyrus in reply, "send

^{Cyrus's}
^{theory of}
^{wealth}
^{us,}
^{that of}
^{Croesus}

Κροῖσε, σύμπεμψον ἄνδρα σὺν Ὄστρασπᾳ τουτῷ¹ ὅτῳ σὺ πιστεύεις μάλιστα. σὺ δέ, ὁ Ὄστρασπα, ἔφη, περιελθὼν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους λέγε αὐτοῖς ὅτι δέομαι χρυσίου πρὸς πρᾶξίν τινα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ δόντι προσδέομαι· καὶ κέλευε αὐτοὺς ὅπόσα ἀν ἔκαστος δύναιτο πορίσαι μοι χρήματα γράψαντας καὶ κατασημηναμένους δοῦναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Κροίσου θεράποντι φέρειν.

17. Ταῦτα δὲ ὅσα ἔλεγε καὶ γράψας καὶ σημηνάμενος ἐδίδου τῷ Ὄστρασπᾳ φέρειν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· ἐνέγραψε δὲ πρὸς πάντας καὶ Ὄστρασπαν ὡς φίλον αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῆλθε καὶ ἦνεγκεν ὁ Κροίσου θεράπων τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ὁ δὴ Ὄστρασπας εἶπεν, Ὡ Κῦρε βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἥδη χρὴ ως πλουσίῳ χρῆσθαι· πάμπολλα γὰρ ἔχων πάρειμι δῶρα διὰ τὰ σὰ γράμματα.

18. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Εἰς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ οὗτος ἥδη θησαυρὸς ἡμῖν, ὁ Κροῖσε· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους καταθεῶ καὶ λόγισαι πόσα ἔστιν ἔτοιμα χρήματα, ἦν τι δέωμαι χρῆσθαι.

Λέγεται δὴ λογικόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος πολλαπλάσια εὑρεῖν ἢ ἔφη Κύρῳ ἀν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἥδη, εἰ συνέλεγεν. 19. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο φανερὸν ἐγένετο, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος, Ὁρᾶς, φάναι, ὁ Κροῖσε, ως εἰσὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ θησαυροί; ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν κελεύεις με παρ' ἐμοὶ αὐτοὺς συλλέγοντα φθονεῖσθαι τε δι' αὐτοὺς καὶ μισεῖσθαι, καὶ φύλακας αὐτοῖς ἐφιστάντα μισθοφόρους τού-

¹ τουτῷ Hertlein, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; τούτῳ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

along with Hystaspes here a man in whom you have most confidence. And you, Hystaspes," said he to him, "go the round of my friends and tell them that I need money for a certain enterprise; for, in truth, I do need more. And bid them write down the amount they could each let me have, and affix their seals to each subscription, and give it to Croesus's messenger to deliver here."

17. And when he had written down what he had said, he sealed the letter and gave it to Hystaspes to carry to his friends. And he included in it also a request that they all receive Hystaspes as his friend.

And when he had made the round and Croesus's messenger had brought in the subscriptions, Hystaspes said: "King Cyrus, you should treat me also henceforth as a rich man; for, thanks to your letter, I have come back with a great number of presents."

18. "Even in this man, Croesus," said Cyrus, "we have one treasure-house already. But as for the rest of my friends, look over the list, and add up the amounts, and see how much money is ready for me, if I need any for my use."

Then Croesus is said to have added it up and to have found that there was many times as much subscribed as he had told Cyrus he should have in his treasury by this time, if he had been amassing it.

19. And when this became apparent, Cyrus is said to have remarked: "Do you observe, Croesus, that I, too, have my treasures? But you are proposing to me to get them together and hoard them in my palace, to put hired watchmen in charge of everything and to trust to them, and on account of those hoards to be envied and hated. I, on the

Cyrus also
has his
treasures

XENOPHON

τοις πιστεύειν· ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν φίλους πλουσίους
 ποιῶν τούτους μοι νομίζω θησαυροὺς καὶ φύλακας
 ἅμα ἐμοῦ τέ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν πιστο-
 τέρους εἰναι ἢ εἰ φρουροὺς μισθοφόρους ἐπεστησά-
 μην. 20. καὶ ἄλλο δέ σοι ἐρώ· ἐγὼ γάρ, ὁ
 Κροῖσε, δὲ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ δόντες εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησαν ὅμοίως πένητας πάντας,
 τούτου μὲν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς δύναμαι περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλ’
 εἰμὶ ἀπληστος κάγὼ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι χρημάτων.
 21. τῆδε γε μέντοι διαφέρειν μοι δοκῶ τῶν πλεί-
 στων ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐπειδὴν τῶν ἀρκούντων περιττὰ
 κτήσωνται, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κατορύττουσι, τὰ δὲ
 κατασήπουσι, τὰ δὲ ἀριθμοῦντες καὶ μετροῦντες
 καὶ ιστάντες καὶ διαψύχοντες καὶ φυλάττοντες
 πράγματα ἔχουσι, καὶ ὅμως ἐνδον ἔχοντες τοσαῦτα
 οὔτε ἐσθίουσι πλείω ἢ δύνανται φέρειν, διαρρα-
 γεῖεν γὰρ ἄν, οὕτ’ ἀμφιέννυνται πλείω ἢ δύνανται
 φέρειν, ἀποπνυγεῖεν γὰρ ἄν, ἀλλὰ τὰ περιττὰ
 χρήματα πράγματα ἔχουσιν. 22. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπηρετῶ
 μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ὄρέγομαι ἀεὶ πλειόνων ἐπειδὴν
 δὲ κτήσωμαι, ἄν τίδω¹ περιττὰ ὄντα τῶν ἐμοὶ²
 ἀρκούντων, τούτοις τάς τ’ ἐνδείας τῶν φίλων
 ἔξακοῦμαι² καὶ πλουτίζων καὶ εὐεργετῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πους εῦνοιαν ἔξ αὐτῶν κτῶμαι καὶ φιλίαν, καὶ ἐκ
 τούτων καρποῦμαι ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὔκλειαν· ἂ-
 ούτε κατασήπεται οὔτε ὑπερπληροῦντα λυμαί-
 νεται, ἀλλὰ ἢ εὔκλεια δύσφ ἄν πλείων ἢ, τοσούτῳ
 καὶ μείζων καὶ καλλίων καὶ κουφοτέρᾳ φέρειν

¹ τίδω xV, Edd.; εἰδῶ γγ (knōw).

² ἔξακοῦμαι F, Edd.; ἔξαρκοῦμαι xx (I come to the relief
 of); ἔξασκοῦμαι D.

other hand, believe that if I make my friends rich I shall have treasures in them and at the same time more trusty watchers both of my person and of our common fortunes than any hired guards I could put in charge. 20. And one more thing I must tell you: even I cannot eradicate from myself that passion for wealth which the gods have put into the human soul and by which they have made us all poor alike, but I, too, am as insatiate of wealth as other people are. 21. However, I think I am different from most people, in that others, when they have acquired more than a sufficiency, bury some of their treasure and allow some to decay, and some they weary themselves with counting, measuring, weighing, airing, and watching; and though they have so much at home, they never eat more than they can hold, for they would burst if they did, and they never wear more than they can carry, for they would be suffocated if they did; they only find their superfluous treasure a burden. 22. But I follow the leading of the gods and am always grasping after more. But when I have obtained what I see is more than enough for my needs, I use it to satisfy the wants of my friends; and by enriching men and doing them kindnesses I win with my superfluous wealth their friendship and loyalty, and from that I reap as my reward security and good fame—possessions that never decay or do injury from over-loading the recipient; but the more one has of good fame, the greater and more attractive and lighter to

Why Cyrus
wanted
wealth

γίγνεται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας αὐτὴν κουφοτέρους παρέχεται.

23. "Οπως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰδῆς, ἔφη, ὁ Κροῖσε, ἐγὼ οὐ τοὺς πλεῖστα ἔχοντας καὶ φυλάττοντας πλεῖστα εὑδαιμονεστάτους ἥγοῦμαι· οἱ γὰρ τὰ τείχη φυλάττοντες οὕτως ἀν εὐδαιμονέστατοι εἴησαν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι φυλάττουσιν ἀλλ' ὅς ἀν κτᾶσθαι τε πλεῖστα δύνηται σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ χρήσθαι δὲ πλείστοις σὺν τῷ καλῷ, τοῦτον ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονέστατον νομίζω [καὶ τὰ χρήματα].¹

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ φανερὸς ἦν ὥσπερ² ἔλεγε καὶ πράττων.

24. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κατανοήσας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι ἦν μὲν ὑγιαίνοντες διατελῶσι, παρασκευάζονται ὅπως ἔξουσι τὰπιτήδεια καὶ κατατίθενται τὰ χρήσιμα εἰς τὴν τῶν ὑγιαινόντων δίαιταν· ὅπως δὲ ἦν ἀσθενήσωσι τὰ σύμφορα παρέσται, τούτου οὐ πάνυ ἐπιμελομένους ἔώρα· ἔδοξεν δὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκπονῆσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τούς τε ἰατροὺς³ τοὺς ἀρίστους συνεκομίσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ τελεῖν ἐθέλειν καὶ ὅπόσα ἡ ὄργανα χρήσιμα ἔφη τις ἀν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἡ φάρμακα ἡ σῆτα ἡ ποτά, οὐδὲν τούτων ὅ τι οὐχὶ παρασκευάσας ἐθησαύριζε παρ' αὐτῷ. 25. καὶ ὅπότε δέ τις ἀσθενήσει τῶν θεραπεύεσθαι ἐπικαιρῶν, ἐπεσκόπει καὶ παρεῖχε πάντα ὅτου ἔδει. καὶ τοῖς

¹ καὶ τὰ χρήματα MSS.; bracketed by Schneider, Weiske, Edd.

² ὥσπερ Hertlein, Edd.; καὶ MSS.

³ καὶ τοὺς τε ἰατροὺς Hug; καὶ ἰατρούς τε γ, Marchant, Gemoll; τοὺς τε ἰατροὺς xzV, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

bear it becomes, and often, too, it makes those who bear it lighter of heart.

23. "And let me tell you, Croesus," he continued, "I do not consider those the happiest who have the most and keep guard of the most; for if that were so, those would be the happiest who keep guard on the city walls, for they keep guard of everything in the city. But the one who can honestly acquire the most and use the most to noble ends, him I count most happy."

And it was evident that he practised what he preached.

24. Besides this, he had observed that most people in days of health and strength make preparations that they may have the necessaries of life, and they lay up for themselves what will serve to supply the wants of healthy people; but he saw that they made no provision at all for such things as would be serviceable in case of sickness. He resolved, therefore, to work out these problems, and to that end he spared no expense to collect about him the very best physicians and surgeons and all the instruments and drugs and articles of food and drink that any one of them said would be useful—there were none of these things that he did not procure and keep in store at his palace. 25. And whenever any one fell sick in whose recovery he was interested, he would visit him and provide for him whatever was needed. And he was grateful to the physicians

Cyrus
establishes
a board of
health and
a medical
dispensary

XENOPHON

ἰατροῖς δὲ χάριν ὥδει, ὅπότε τις λάσαιτό τινα τῶν παρ' ἐκείνου λαμβάνων.

26. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐμηχανᾶτο πρὸς τὸ πρωτεύειν παρ' οἷς ἐβούλετο ἑαυτὸν φιλεῖσθαι.

*Ων δὲ προηγόρευέ τε ἀγῶνας καὶ ἄθλα προτίθει, φιλονικίας ἐμποιεῦν βουλόμενος περὶ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἔργων, ταῦτα τῷ μὲν Κύρῳ ἔπαινον παρεῖχεν ὅτι ἐπεμέλετο ὅπως ἀσκοῦτο ἡ ἀρετή τοῖς μέντοι ἀρίστοις οἱ ἀγῶνες οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἔριδας καὶ φιλονικίας ἐνέβαλλον.

27. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὥσπερ νόμον κατεστήσατο ὁ Κῦρος, δσα διακρίσεως δέοιτο εἴτε δίκη εἴτε ἀγωνίσματι, τοὺς δεομένους διακρίσεως συντρέχειν τοῖς κριταῖς. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι ἐστοχάζοντο μὲν οἱ ἀνταγωνιζόμενοί τι ἀμφότεροι τῶν κρατίστων καὶ τῶν μᾶλιστα φίλων κριτῶν· ὁ δὲ μὴ νικῶν τοῖς μὲν νικῶσιν ἐφθόνει, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἑαυτὸν κρίνοντας ἐμίσει· ὁ δ' αὖ νικῶν τῷ δικαίῳ προσεποιεῖτο νικᾶν, ὥστε χάριν οὐδενὶ ἥγειτο ὀφείλειν.

28. Καὶ οἱ πρωτεύειν δὲ βουλόμενοι φιλίᾳ παρὰ Κύρῳ, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι ἐν πόλεσι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐπιφθόνως πρὸς ἀλλήλους είχον, ὥσθ' οἱ πλείονες ἐκποδῶν ἐβούλοντο ὁ ἔτερος τὸν ἔτερον γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συνέπραξαν ἂν τι ἀλλήλοις ἀγαθόν.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δεδήλωται ως ἐμηχανᾶτο τοὺς κρατίστους αὐτὸν μᾶλλον πάντας φιλεῖν ἢ ἀλλήλους.

also, whenever any of them took any of his medical stores and with them effected a cure.

26. These and many other such arts he employed in order to hold the first place in the affections of those by whom he wished to be beloved.

And the games, in which Cyrus used to announce contests and to offer prizes from a desire to inspire in his people a spirit of emulation in what was beautiful and good—these games also brought him praise, because his aim was to secure practice in excellence. But these contests also stirred up contentions and jealousies among the nobles.

27. Besides this, Cyrus had made a regulation that was practically a law, that, in any matter that required adjudication, whether it was a civil action or a contest for a prize, those who asked for such adjudication must concur in the choice of judges. It was, therefore, a matter of course that each of the contestants aimed to secure the most influential men as judges and such as were most friendly to himself. The one who did not win was always jealous of those who did, and disliked those of the judges who did not vote in his favour; on the other hand, the one who did win claimed that he had won by virtue of the justice of his cause, and so he thought he owed no thanks to anybody.

28. And those also who wished to hold the first place in the affections of Cyrus were jealous of one another, just like other people (even in republics), so that in most cases the one would have wished to get the other out of the way sooner than to join with him in any work to their mutual interest.

Thus it has been shown how he contrived that the most influential citizens should love him more than they did each other.

How Cyrus
guarded
against
coalitions

III

1. Νῦν δὲ ἡδη διηγησόμεθα ως τὸ πρῶτον ἔξηλασε Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἔξελάσεως ή σεμνότης ήμῖν δοκεῖ μία τῶν τεχνῶν εἶναι τῶν μεμηχανημένων τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πρὸ τῆς ἔξελάσεως εἰσκαλέσας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας Πέρσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων διέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὰς Μηδικὰς στολάς· καὶ τότε πρῶτον Πέρσαι Μηδικὴν στολὴν ἐνέδυσαν· διαδιδούς τε ἄμα τάδε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἔλασαι βούλοιτο εἰς τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῦς θεοῖς ἔξηρημένα καὶ θύσαι μετ' ἑκείνων. 2. Πάρεστε οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας κοσμηθέντες ταῖς στολαῖς ταύταις πρὶν ἥμιου ἀνατέλλειν, καὶ καθίστασθε ως ἀν ὑμῖν Φεραύλας ὁ Πέρσης ἔξαγγείλη παρ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἐπειδάν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ἡγῶμαι, ἐπεσθε ἐν τῇ ῥηθείσῃ χώρᾳ. ἦν δ' ἄρα τινὶ δοκῆ ὑμῶν ἄλλῃ κάλλιον εἶναι ή ως ἀν νῦν ἐλαύνωμεν, ἐπειδάν πάλιν ἔλθωμεν, διδασκέτω με· ὅπῃ γὰρ ἀν κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον ὑμῖν¹ δοκῆ εἶναι, ταύτη ἔκαστα δεῖ καταστήσασθαι.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις διέδωκε τὰς καλλίστας στολάς, ἔξέφερε δὴ καὶ ἄλλας Μηδικὰς στολάς, παμπόλλας γὰρ παρεσκευάσατο, οὐδὲν φειδόμενος οὔτε πορφυρίδων οὔτε ὄρφνίνων οὔτε φοινικίδων οὔτε καρυκίνων ἴματίων· νείμας δὲ τούτων τὸ μέρος ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς τούτοις κοσμεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν φίλους, ὥσπερ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς κοσμῶ.

¹ ὑμῖν EDG, Edd.; ἡμῖν CFAHV.

III

1. NEXT we shall describe how Cyrus for the first time drove forth in state from his palace; and that is in place here, for the magnificence of his appearance in state seems to us to have been one of the arts that he devised to make his government command respect. Accordingly, before he started out, he called to him those of the Persians and of the allies who held office, and distributed Median robes among them (and this was the first time that the Persians put on the Median robe); and as he distributed them he said that he wished to proceed in state to the sanctuaries that had been selected for the gods, and to offer sacrifice there with his friends.

2. "Come, therefore, to court before sunrise, dressed in these robes," said he, "and form in line as Pheraulas, the Persian, shall direct in my name; and when I lead the way, follow me in the order assigned to you. But if any one of you thinks that some other way would be better than that in which we shall now proceed, let him inform me as soon as we return, for everything must be arranged as you think best and most becoming."

3. And when he had distributed among the noblest the most beautiful garments, he brought out other Median robes, for he had had a great many made, with no stint of purple or sable or red or scarlet or crimson cloaks. He apportioned to each one of his officers his proper share of them, and he bade them adorn their friends with them, "just as I," said he, "have been adorning you."

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4. Καί τις τῶν παρόντων ἐπήρετο αὐτόν, Σὺ δέ,
ὦ Κῦρε, ἔφη, πότε κοσμήσει;

‘Ο δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο, Οὐ γὰρ νῦν, ἔφη, δοκῶ ὑμῖν
αὐτὸς κοσμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς κοσμῶν; ἀμέλει, ἔφη, ἦν
δύνωμαι ὑμᾶς τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅποίαν ἀν-
ἔχων στολὴν τυγχάνω, ἐν ταύτῃ καλὸς φανοῦμαι.

5. Οὕτω δὴ οἱ μὲν ἀπελθόντες μεταπεμπόμενοι
τοὺς φίλους ἐκόσμουν ταῖς στολαῖς.

‘Ο δὲ Κῦρος νομίζων Φεραύλαν τὸν ἐκ τῶν
δημοτῶν καὶ συνετὸν εἶναι καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ
εὔτακτον καὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀμελῆ, ὃς
ποτε καὶ περὶ τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι ἔκαστον κατὰ τὴν
ἀξίαν συνεῖπε, τοῦτον δὴ καλέσας συνεβούλευετο
αὐτῷ πῶς ἀν τοῖς μὲν εὔνοις κάλλιστα ἰδεῖν
ποιοῦτο τὴν ἐξέλασιν, τοῖς δὲ δυσμενέστι φοβερώ-
τατα. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπούντοιν αὐτοῖν ταῦτα
συνέδοξεν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Φεραύλαν ἐπιμεληθῆναι
ὅπως ἀν οὕτω γένηται αὔριον ἡ ἐξέλασις ὥσπερ
ἔδοξε καλῶς ἔχειν. Εἴρηκα δέ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ πάντας
πείθεσθαι σοι περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐξελάσει τάξεως
ὅπως δ’ ἀν ἥδιον παραγγέλλοντός σου ἀκούωσι,
φέρε λαβών, ἔφη, χιτῶνας μὲν τουτουσὶ τοῖς τῶν
δορυφόρων ἡγεμόσι, κασᾶς¹ δὲ τούσδε τοὺς ἐφιπ-
πίους τοῖς τῶν ἵππέων ἡγεμόσι, δὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν
άρμάτων τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἄλλους τούσδε χιτῶνας.

‘Ο μὲν δὴ ἔφερε λαβών· 7. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες ἐπεὶ

¹ κασᾶς Brodæus, Edd.; καλέσας MSS.

4. "And you, Cyrus," asked one of those present, "when will you adorn yourself?"

"Why, do I not seem to you to be adorned myself when I adorn you?" he answered. "Be sure that if I can treat you, my friends, properly, I shall look well, no matter what sort of dress I happen to have on."

5. So they went away, sent for their friends, and adorned them with the robes.

Now Cyrus believed Pheraulas, that man of the common people, to be intelligent, to have an eye for beauty and order, and to be not indisposed to please him; (this was the same Pheraulas who had once supported his proposal that each man should be honoured in accordance with his merit;) so he called him in and with him planned how to arrange the procession in a manner that should prove most splendid in the eyes of his loyal friends and most intimidating to those who were disaffected.

6. And when after careful study they agreed on the arrangement, he bade Pheraulas see that the procession take place on the morrow exactly as they had decided was best. "And I have issued orders," said he, "that everybody shall obey you in regard to the ordering of the procession; but, in order that they may the more readily follow your directions, take these tunics here and give them to the officers of the lancers, and these cavalry mantles here to the commanders of the horse; and give the officers of the chariot forces also these other tunics."

So he took them and carried them away.

7. And when the officers one after another saw him, they

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ἴδοιεν αὐτόν, ἔλεγον, Μέγας δὴ σύγε, ὁ Φεραύλα,
ὅπότε γε καὶ ἡμῖν προστάξεις ἀν δέη ποιεῖν.

Οὐ μὰ Δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Φεραύλας, οὐ μόνον γε, ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συσκευοφορήσω· νῦν γοῦν φέρω
τώδε δύο κασᾶ, τὸν μὲν σοί, τὸν δὲ ἄλλῳ· σὺ
μέντοι τούτων λαβὲ ὅπότερον βούλει.

8. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ μὲν λαμβάνων τὸν κασᾶν
τοῦ μὲν φθόνου ἐπελέληστο, εὐθὺς δὲ συνεβου-
λεύετο αὐτῷ ὅπότερον λαμβάνον· ὁ δὲ συμβου-
λεύσας ἀν ὅπότερος βελτίων εἴη καὶ εἰπών,
"Ἡν μου κατηγορήσῃς δτι αἴρεσίν σοι ἔδωκα,
εἰς αὐθις δταν διακονῶ, ἐτέρῳ χρήσει μοι δια-
κόνῳ, ὁ μὲν δὴ Φεραύλας οὕτω διαδοὺς ἥ· ἐτάχθη
εὐθὺς ἐπεμέλετο τῶν εἰς τὴν ἔξελασιν ὅπως
ὡς κάλλιστα ἔκαστα ἔξοι.

9. Ἡνίκα δ' ἡ ὑστεραία ἦκε, καθαρὰ μὲν ἦν
πάντα πρὸ ἡμέρας, στοῖχοι δὲ είστηκεσαν ἔνθεν
καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὡσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἵστανται
ἥ ἀν βασιλεὺς μέλλῃ ἔλαύνειν ὧν ἐντὸς οὐδενὶ¹
ἔστιν εἰσιέναι τῶν μὴ τετιμημένων· μαστυγοφόροι
δὲ καθέστασαν οὐ ἔπαιον, εἴ τις ἐνοχλοίη.

"Ἐστασαν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων εἰς
τετρακισχιλίους ἔμπροσθεν τῶν πυλῶν εἰς τέ-
ταρας, δισχίλιοι δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν τῶν πυλῶν.
10. καὶ οἱ ἴππεῖς δὲ πάντες παρῆσαν κατα-
βεβηκότες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ διειρκότες τὰς

would say : " You must be a great man, Pheraulas, seeing that you are to command even us what we must do."

" No, by Zeus," Pheraulas would answer ; " not only not that, so it seems, but I am even to be one of the porters ; at any rate, I am now carrying these two mantles here, the one for you, the other for some one else. You, however, shall have your choice."

8. With that, of course, the man who was receiving the mantle would at once forget about his jealousy and presently be asking his advice which one to choose. And he would give his advice as to which one was better and say : " If you betray that I have given you your choice, you will find me a different sort of servant the next time I come to serve." And when Pheraulas had distributed everything as he had been instructed to do, he at once began to arrange for the procession that it might be as splendid as possible in every detail.

9. When the next day dawned, everything was in order before sunrise ; rows of soldiers stood on this side of the street and on that, just as even to this day the Persians stand, where the king is to pass ; and within these lines no one may enter except those who hold positions of honour. And policemen with whips in their hands were stationed there, who struck any one who tried to crowd in.

First in order, in front of the gates stood about four thousand lancers, four deep, and two thousand on either side the gates. 10. And all the cavalry-men had alighted and stood there beside their horses, and they all had their hands thrust through

The forma-
tion of the
line of the
procession

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χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διείρουσιν, ὅταν ὁρᾶ βασιλεύς. ἔστασαν δὲ Πέρσαι μὲν ἐκ δεξιᾶς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ώσαύτως τὰ ἡμίσεα ἑκατέρῳθεν.

11. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνεπετάννυντο αἱ τοῦ βασιλέον πύλαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἦγοντο τῷ Διὶ ταῦροι πάγκαλοι εἰς τέτταρας καὶ οἵς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγούντο· πολὺ γάρ οἴονται Πέρσαι χρῆναι τοῖς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μᾶλλον τεχνίταις χρῆσθαι ἢ περὶ τάλλα. 12. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς βοῦς ἵπποι ἦγοντο θῦμα τῷ Ἡλίῳ μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐξήγετο ἄρμα λευκὸν χρυσόζυγον ἐστεμμένου Διὸς ἱερόν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἡλίου ἄρμα λευκόν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐστεμμένου ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλο τρίτον ἄρμα ἐξήγετο, φοινικίσι καταπεπταμένοι οἱ ἵπποι, καὶ πῦρ ὅπισθεν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἄνδρες εἶποντο φέροντες.

13. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἥδη αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν προυφαίνετο ὁ Κῦρος ἐφ' ἄρματος ὁρθὴν ἔχων τὴν τιάραν καὶ χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν μεσόλευκον, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐκ ἔξεστι μεσόλευκον ἔχειν, καὶ περὶ τοῖς σκέλεσιν ἀναξυρίδας ὑσγινῷβαφεῖς, καὶ κάνδυν ὀλοπόρφυρον. εἶχε δὲ καὶ διάδημα περὶ τὴν τιάραν· καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σημεῖον εἶχον, καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔχουσι. 14. τὰς δὲ χεῖρας ἔξω τῶν χειρίδων

the sleeves of their doublets,¹ just as they do even to this day when the king sees them. The Persians stood on the right side of the street, the others, the allies, on the left, and the chariots were arranged in the same way, half on either side.

11. Then, when the palace gates were thrown open, there were led out at the head of the procession four abreast some exceptionally handsome bulls for Zeus and for the other gods as the magi directed; for the Persians think that they ought much more scrupulously to be guided by those whose profession is with things divine than they are by those in other professions. 12. Next after the bulls came horses, a sacrifice for the Sun; and after them came a chariot sacred to Zeus; it was drawn by white horses with a yoke of gold and wreathed with garlands; and next, for the Sun, a chariot drawn by white horses and wreathed with garlands like the other. After that came a third chariot with horses covered with purple trappings, and behind it followed men carrying fire on a great altar.

13. Next after these Cyrus himself upon a chariot Cyrus appeared in the gates wearing his tiara upright, a purple tunic shot with white (no one but the king may wear such a one), trousers of scarlet dye about his legs, and a mantle all of purple. He had also a fillet about his tiara, and his kinsmen also had the same mark of distinction, and they retain it even now. 14. His hands he kept outside his sleeves.¹ With

¹ The Persians were obliged, in the presence of the king, to thrust their hands inside the sleeves of their doublets in token of their submission to royalty: moreover, with the hands thus withdrawn, no act of violence was possible. Cyrus, the Younger, is said to have had two of his kinsmen executed for their failure to observe this regulation. (*Hellenica* II. i. 8.)

είχε. παρωχεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ ἡνίοχος μέγας μέν,
μείων δ' ἐκείνου εἴτε καὶ τῷ ὅντι εἴτε καὶ
ὅπωσοῦν· μείζων δ' ἐφάνη πολὺ Κῦρος.

'Ιδόντες δὲ πάντες προσεκύνησαν, εἴτε καὶ
ἄρξαι τινὲς κεκελευσμένοι εἴτε καὶ ἐκπλαγέντες
τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ τῷ δόξαι μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν
φανῆναι τὸν Κῦρον. πρόσθεν δὲ Περσῶν οὐδεὶς
Κῦρον προσεκύνει.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προήει τὸ τοῦ Κύρου ἄρμα, προηγοῦντο μὲν οἱ τετρακισχίλιοι δορυφόροι, παρείποντο δὲ οἱ δισχίλιοι ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἄρματος·
ἔφείποντο δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σκηπτοῦχοι ἐφ' ἵππων κεκοσμημένοι σὺν τοῖς παλτοῖς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους. 16. οἱ δ' αὖ τῷ Κύρῳ τρεφόμενοι ἵπποι παρήγοντο χρυσοχάλινοι, ῥαβδωτοῖς ἴματοις καταπεπταμένοι, ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους·
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις δισχίλιοι ξυστοφόροι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἵππεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι μύριοι, εἰς ἐκατὸν πανταχῇ τεταγμένοι· ἥγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Χρυσάντας. 17. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις μύριοι ἄλλοι Περσῶν ἵππεῖς τεταγμένοι ώσαύτως, ἥγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Τστάσπας·
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἄλλοι μύριοι ώσαύτως, ἥγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Δατάμας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τοσοῦτοι¹
ἄλλοι, ἥγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Γαδάτας. 18. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Μῆδοι ἵππεῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Αρμένιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Τρκάνιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Καδούσιοι,
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Σάκαι· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἵππεας ἄρματα ἐπὶ τεττάρων τεταγμένα, ἥγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Αρταβάτας Πέρσης.

¹ τοσοῦτοι Hertlein, Hug; not in MSS. or most Edd.

him rode a charioteer, who was tall, but neither in reality nor in appearance so tall as he ; at all events, Cyrus looked much taller.

And when they saw him, they all prostrated themselves before him, either because some had been instructed to begin this act of homage, or because they were overcome by the splendour of his presence, or because Cyrus appeared so great and so goodly to look upon ; at any rate, no one of the Persians had ever prostrated himself before Cyrus before.

15. Then, when Cyrus's chariot had come forth, ^{The proces-}
the four thousand lancers took the lead, and the two ^{sion itself}
thousand fell in line on either side of his chariot ;
and his mace-bearers, about three hundred in number,
followed next in gala attire, mounted, and equipped
with their customary javelins. 16. Next came Cyrus's
private stud of horses, about two hundred in all, led
along with gold-mounted bridles and covered over
with embroidered housings. Behind these came two
thousand spearmen, and after them the original
ten thousand Persian cavalry, drawn up in a square
with a hundred on each side ; and Chrysantas was
in command of them. 17. Behind them came ten
thousand other Persian horsemen arranged in the
same way with Hystaspes in command, and after
them ten thousand more in the same formation with
Datamas as their commander ; following them, as
many more with Gadatas in command. 18. And
then followed in succession the cavalry of the Medes,
Armenians, Hyrcanians, Cadusians, and Sacians ; and
behind the cavalry came the chariots ranged four
abreast, and Artabatas, a Persian, had command
of them.

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19. Πορευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πάμπολλοι ἄνθρωποι παρείποντο ἔξω τῶν σημείων, δεόμενοι Κύρου ἄλλος ἄλλης πράξεως. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν σκηπτούχων τινάς, οἳ παρείποντο αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἑκατέρῳθεν τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ τούτου ἔνεκα τοῦ διαγγέλλειν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἴ τις τι αὐτοῦ δέοιτο, διδάσκειν τῶν ἵππαρχων τινὰ ὃ τι τις βούλοιτο, ἐκείνους δ' ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπιόντες εὐθὺς κατὰ τοὺς ἵππεας ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἐβούλευοντο τίνι ἔκαστος προσίοι.

20. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος οὓς ἐβούλετο μάλιστα θεραπεύεσθαι τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τούτους πέμπων τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν¹ ἐκάλει καθ' ἕνα ἔκαστον καὶ ἐλεγεν αὐτοῖς οὕτως· Ἡν τις ὑμᾶς διδάσκῃ τι τούτων τῶν παρεπομένων, ὃς μὲν ἀν μηδὲν δοκῇ ὑμῖν λέγειν, μὴ προσέχετε αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ὃς δ' ἀν δικαίων δεῖσθαι δοκῇ, εἰσαγγέλλετε πρὸς ἐμέ, ἵνα κοινῆ βούλευόμενοι διαπράττωμεν αὐτοῖς.

21. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι, ἐπεὶ καλέσειεν, ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλαύνοντες ὑπήκουουν, συναύξοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενοι. ὅτι σφόδρα πείθοιντο. Δαιφέρης δέ τις ἦν σολοικότερος ἄνθρωπος τῷ τρόπῳ, ὃς φετο, εἰ μὴ ταχὺ ὑπακούοι, ἐλευθερώτερος ἀν φαίνεσθαι. 22. αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο, πρὸν προσελθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διαλεχθῆναι αὐτῷ, ὑποπέμψας τινὰ τῶν σκηπτούχων εἰπεῖν

¹ αὐτὸν Edd.; αὐτὸν MSS.

19. And as he proceeded, a great throng of people followed outside the lines with petitions to present to Cyrus, one about one matter, another about another. So he sent to them some of his mace-bearers, who followed, three on either side of his chariot, for the express purpose of carrying messages for him ; and he bade them say that if any one wanted anything of him, he should make his wish known to some one of his cavalry officers and they, he said, would inform him. So the people at once fell back and made their way along the lines of cavalry, each considering what officer he should approach.

20. From time to time Cyrus would send some one to call to him one by one those of his friends whom he wished to have most courted by the people, and would say to them : " If any one of the people following the procession tries to bring anything to your attention, if you do not think he has anything worth while to say, pay no attention to him ; but if any one seems to you to ask what is fair, come and tell me, so that we may consult together and grant the petition."

21. And whenever he sent such summons, the men would ride up at full speed to answer it, thereby magnifying the majesty of Cyrus's authority and at the same time showing their eagerness to obey. There was but one exception : a certain Daiphernes, a fellow rather boorish in his manners, thought that he would show more independence if he did not obey at once. 22. Cyrus noticed this ; and so, before Daiphernes came and talked with him, he sent one of his mace-bearers privately to say that he had no

How Cyrus received petitions

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έκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι δέοιτο· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐκάλει. 23. ὡς δ' ὁ ὕστερον κληθεὶς αὐτοῦ πρότερος αὐτῷ προσήλασεν, ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἵππον αὐτῷ ἔδωκε τῶν παρεπομένων καὶ ἐκέλευσε τῶν σκηπτούχων τινὰ συναπαγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ὅποι¹ κελεύσειε. τοῖς δὲ ἴδουσιν ἔντιμόν τι τοῦτο ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ πλείονες ἐκ τούτου αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευνον ἀνθρώπων.

24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὰ τεμένη, ἔθυσαν τῷ Διὶ καὶ ὠλοκαύτησαν τοὺς ταύρους· ἔπειτα τῷ Ἡλίῳ καὶ ὠλοκαύτησαν τοὺς ἵππους· ἔπειτα Γῆ σφάξαντες ὡς ἐξηγήσαντο οἱ μάγοι ἐποίησαν ἔπειτα δὲ ἥρωσι τοῖς Συρίαν ἔχουσι. 25. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ χωρίου ἔδειξε τέρμα ὡς ἐπὶ πέντε σταδίων χωρίου, καὶ εἰπε κατὰ φῦλα ἀνὰ κράτος ἐνταῦθα ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἵππους. σὺν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Πέρσαις αὐτὸς ἥλασε καὶ ἐνίκα πολύ μάλιστα γὰρ ἐμεμελήκει αὐτῷ ἵππικῆς. Μήδων δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐνίκα· Κῦρος γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον ἔδειδώκει. Σύρων δὲ τῶν ἀποστάντων² ὁ Γαδάτας· Ἀρμενίων δὲ Τιγράνης· Τρκανίων δὲ ὁ νιὸς τοῦ ἵππάρχου· Σακῶν δὲ ἴδιώτης ἀνὴρ ἀπέλιπεν ἄρα τῷ ἵππῳ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππους ἐγγὺς τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ δρόμου. 26. ἐνθα δὴ λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος ἐρέσθαι τὸν νεανίσκον εἰ δέξαιτ' ἀν βασιλείαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἵππου.

Τὸν δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι Βασιλείαν μὲν οὐκ

¹ ὅποι Dindorf, most Edd.; ὅπου γε, Breitenbach; διηρ. x.

² τῶν ἀποστάντων Madvig, recent Edd.; δι προστατῶν καὶ V., Dindorf, τῶν πάντων γ.

more need of him ; and he did not send for him again. 23. But when a man who was summoned later than Daiphernes rode up to him sooner than he, Cyrus gave him one of the horses that were being led in the procession and gave orders to one of the mace-bearers to have it led away for him wherever he should direct. And to those who saw it it seemed to be a mark of great honour, and as a consequence of that event many more people paid court to that man.

24. So, when they came to the sanctuaries, they performed the sacrifice to Zeus and made a holocaust of the bulls ; then they gave the horses to the flames in honour of the Sun ; next they did sacrifice to the Earth, as the magi directed, and lastly to the tutelary heroes of Syria. 25. And after that, as the locality seemed adapted to the purpose, he pointed out a goal about five stadia distant and commanded the riders, nation by nation, to put their horses at full speed toward it. Accordingly, he himself rode with the Persians and came in far ahead of the rest, for he had given especial attention to horsemanship. Among the Medes, Artabazus won the race, for the horse he had was a gift from Cyrus ; among the Assyrians who had revolted to him, Gadatas secured the first place ; among the Armenians, Tigranes ; and among the Hyrcanians, the son of the master of the horse ; but among the Sacians a certain private soldier with his horse actually outdistanced the rest by nearly half the course. 26. Thereupon Cyrus is said to have asked the young man if he would take a kingdom for his horse.

The sacrifice
and the
races

"No," answered he ; "I would not take a king-

ἀν δεξαίμην, χάριν δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καταθέσθαι
δεξαίμην ἄν.

27. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε, Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ δεῖξαί σοι
ἔθέλω ἔνθα κὰν μύων βάλης, οὐκ ἀν ἀμάρτοις
ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ.

Πάντως τοίνυν, ὁ Σάκας ἔφη, δεῖξόν μοι· ώς
βαλῶ γε ταύτη τῇ βώλῳ, ἔφη ἀνελόμενος.

28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Κῦρος δείκνυσιν ἀντῷ ὅπου
ῆσαν πλεῖστοι τῶν φίλων· ὁ δὲ καταμύῶν ἵησι
τῇ βώλῳ καὶ παρελαύνοντος Φεραύλα τυγχάνει·
ἔτυχε γάρ ὁ Φεραύλας παραγγέλλων τι τακτὸς
παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου· βληθεὶς δὲ οὐδὲ μετεστράφη,
ἀλλ’ ὥχετο ἐφ’ ὅπερ ἐτάχθη.

29. Ἀναβλέψας δὲ ὁ Σάκας ἐρωτᾷ τίνος
ἔτυχεν.

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δᾶ, ἔφη, οὐδενὸς τῶν παρόντων.

Ἄλλ’ οὐ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος, τῶν γε
ἀποντων.

Ναὶ μὰ Δᾶ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, σύγε ἐκείνου τοῦ
παρὰ τὰ ἄρματα ταχὺ ἐλαύνοντος τὸν ἵππον.

Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οὐδὲ μεταστρέφεται;

30. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη, Μαινόμενος γάρ τις
ἔστιν, ώς ἔοικεν.

Ἀκούσας ὁ νεανίσκος ὥχετο σκεψόμενος τίς
εἴη· καὶ εὑρίσκει τὸν Φεραύλαν γῆς τε κατάπλεων
τὸ γένειον καὶ αἷματος· ἐρρύῃ¹ γάρ αὐτῷ ἐκ
τῆς ρίνὸς βληθέντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθεν, ἤρετο
αὐτὸν εἰ βληθείη.

¹ ἐρρύῃ zDGH, most Edd.; ἐρρει x, Gemoll (*was still*
flowing); ἐρρύει F.

dom for him, but I would take the chance of laying up a store of gratitude with a brave man."

27. "Aye," said Cyrus, "and I will show you Pheraulas where you could not fail to hit a brave man, even if ^{gets a blow and a horse} you throw with your eyes shut."

"All right, then," said the Sacian; "show me; and I will throw this clod here." And with that he picked one up.

28. And Cyrus pointed out to him the place where most of his friends were. And the other, shutting his eyes, let fly with the clod and hit Pheraulas as he was riding by; for Pheraulas happened to be carrying some message under orders from Cyrus. But though he was hit, he did not so much as turn around but went on to attend to his commission.

29. The Sacian opened his eyes and asked whom he had hit.

"None of those here, by Zeus," said Cyrus.

"Well, surely it was not one of those who are not here," said the youth.

"Yes, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "it was; you hit that man who is riding so fast along the line of chariots yonder."

"And why does he not even turn around?" said the youth.

30. "Because he is crazy, I should think," answered Cyrus.

On hearing this, the young man went to find out who it was. And he found Pheraulas with his chin covered with dirt and blood, for the blood had flowed from his nose where he had been struck; and when he came up to him he asked him if he had been hit.

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31. 'Ο δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, 'Ως ὁρᾶς.

Δίδωμι τούνυν σοι, ἔφη, τοῦτον τὸν ἵππον.

'Ο δέ ἐπήρετο, 'Αντὶ τοῦ;

'Εκ τούτου δὴ διηγεῖτο ὁ Σάκας τὸ πρᾶγμα,
καὶ τέλος εἶπε, Καὶ οἶμαί γε οὐχ ἡμαρτηκέναι
ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ.

32. Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν, 'Αλλὰ πλουσιω-
τέρῳ μὲν ἄν, εἰ ἐσωφρόνεις, ή ἐμοὶ ἐδίδους· νῦν
δὲ κάγῳ δέξομαι. ἐπεύχομαι δέ, ἔφη, τοῖς θεοῖς,
οἵπερ με ἐποίησαν βληθῆναι ὑπὸ σοῦ, δοῦναί
μοι ποιῆσαι μὴ μεταμέλειν σοι τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς.
καὶ νῦν μέν, ἔφη, ἀπέλα, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμὸν
ἵππον· αὐθις δέ ἐγὼ παρέσομαι πρὸς σέ.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτω διηλλάξαντο.

Καδουσίων δὲ ἐνίκα 'Ραθίνης.

33. 'Αφίει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄρματα καθ' ἔκαστον·
τοῖς δὲ νικῶσι πᾶσιν ἐδίδου βοῦς τε, ὅπως ἀν
θύσαντες ἔστιφντο, καὶ ἐκπώματα. τὸν μὲν οὖν
βοῦν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ νικητήριον· τῶν δέ
ἐκπωμάτων τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος Φεραύλα ἔδωκεν, ὅτι
καλῶς ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου ἔλασιν
διατάξαι.

34. Οὕτω δὴ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεῖσα
ἡ βασιλέως ἔλασις οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει,¹
πλὴν τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεστιν, ὅταν μὴ θύῃ.

'Ως δὲ ταῦτα τέλος εἶχεν, ἀφικνοῦνται πάλιν
εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν, οἷς μὲν ἐδόθησαν
οἰκίαι, κατ' οἰκίας, οἷς δὲ μιή, ἐν τάξει.

¹ οὕτω δὴ . . . διαμένει Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; οὕτω δὴ η (η not in γ) τότε ὑπὸ K. κ. έλασις (η ξ. γ) οὕτω έτι κ. κ. διαμένει η βασιλέως έλασις xyzV (but οὕτω . . . έλασις is not in G; η βασιλέως έλασις is not in D).

31. "As you see," he answered.

"Well then," said the other, "I will make you a present of this horse."

"What for?" asked Pheraulas.

Then the Sacian related the circumstances and finally said: "And in my opinion, at least, I have not failed to hit a brave man."

32. "But you would give him to a richer man than I, if you were wise," answered Pheraulas. "Still, even as it is, I will accept him. And I pray the gods, who have caused me to receive your blow, to grant me to see that you never regret your gift to me. And now," said he, "mount my horse and ride away; I will join you presently."

Thus they made the exchange.

Of the Cadusians, Rhathines was the winner.

33. The chariots also he allowed to race by ^{The chariot} race divisions; to all the winners he gave cups and cattle, so that they might sacrifice and have a banquet. He himself, then, took the ox as his prize, but his share of the cups he gave to Pheraulas because he thought that that officer, as grand marshal, had managed the procession from the palace admirably.

34. The procession of the king, therefore, as thus instituted by Cyrus, continues even so unto this day, except that the victims are omitted when the king does not offer sacrifice.

When it was all over, they went back to the city to their lodgings—those to whom houses had been given, to their homes; those who had none, to their company's quarters.

XENOPHON

35. Καλέσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας τὸν Σάκαν τὸν δόντα τὸν ἵππον ἔξενιζε, καὶ τἄλλα τε παρεῖχεν ἔκπλεω, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν, τὰ ἔκπώματα αὐτῷ ἀ ἔλαβε παρὰ Κύρου ἐμπιμπλάς προύπινε καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο.

36. Καὶ ὁ Σάκας ὄρῶν πολλὴν μὲν καὶ καλὴν στρωμνήν, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ καλὴν κατασκευήν, καὶ οἰκέτας δὲ πολλούς, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Φεραύλα, η̄ καὶ οἴκοι τῶν πλουσίων ἥσθα;

37. Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπε, Ποίων πλουσίων; τῶν μὲν οὖν σαφῶς ἀποχειροβιώτων.¹ ἐμὲ γάρ τοι ὁ πατὴρ τὴν μὲν τῶν παιδῶν παιδείᾳ γλίσχρως αὐτὸς ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τρέφων ἐπαίδευεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ μειράκιον ἐγενόμην, οὐ δυνάμενος τρέφειν ἀργόν, εἰς ἀγρὸν ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἐργάζεσθαι. 38. ἐνθα δὴ ἐγὼ ἀντέτρεφον ἐκεῖνον, ἔως ἔξη, αὐτὸς σκάπτων καὶ σπείρων καὶ μάλα μικρὸν γῆδιον, οὐ μέντοι πονηρόν γε, ἀλλὰ πάντων δικαιότατον· ὅ τι γάρ λάβοι σπέρμα, καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀπεδίδου αὐτό τε καὶ τόκον οὐδέν τι πολύν· ἥδη δέ ποτε ὑπὸ γενναιότητος καὶ διπλάσια ἀπέδωκεν ὡν ἔλαβεν. οἴκοι μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὕτως ἔξων· νῦν δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἀ ὄρᾶς Κῦρός μοι ἔδωκε.

39. Καὶ ὁ Σάκας εἶπεν, Ω μακάριε σὺ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο ὅτι ἐκ πένητος πλούσιος

¹ ἀποχειροβιώτων ZED, most Edd.; ἀποχειροβιώτων CF, Hug.

35. Pheraulas invited to his house the Sacian also, who had given him his horse, and entertained his new friend there and made bountiful provision for him in every way; and when they had dined, he filled up the cups that he had received from Cyrus, drank to his health, and then gave him the cups.

36. And when the Sacian saw the many beautiful coverlets, the many beautiful pieces of furniture, and the large number of servants, he said: "Pray tell me, Pheraulas, were you a rich man at home, too?"

37. "Rich, indeed!" answered Pheraulas; "nay rather, as everybody knows, one of those who lived by the labour of their hands. To be sure, my father, who supported us by hard labour and close economy on his own part, managed to give me the education of the boys; but when I became a young man, he could not support me in idleness, and so he took me off to the farm and put me to work. 38. And there, as long as he lived, I, in turn, supported him by digging and planting a very little plot of ground. It was really not such a very bad plot of ground, but, on the contrary, the most honest; for all the seed that it received it returned fairly and honestly, and yet with no very great amount of interest. And sometimes, in a fit of generosity, it would even return to me twice as much as it received. Thus, then, I used to live at home; but now everything that you see has been given to me by Cyrus."

39. "What a happy fellow you must be," said the Sacian, "for every reason, but particularly because from being poor you have become rich. For you

Pheraulas
entertains
the Sacian

Cf. Vergil,
Georgics i. 4
Menander,
Georges 35

γεγένησαι· πολὺ γὰρ οἶμαί σε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡδιον πλουτεῖν ὅτι πεινήσας χρημάτων ἐπλούτησας.¹

40. Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν, Ἡ γὰρ οὔτως, ὡς Σάκα, ὑπολαμβάνεις ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν τοσούτῳ ἡδιον ξῶ δσφ πλείω κέκτημαι; οὐκ οἰσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐσθίω μὲν καὶ πίνω καὶ καθεύδω οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν νῦν ἡδιον ἡ τότε ὅτε πένης ἦν. ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα πολλά ἔστι, τοσούτον κερδαίνω, πλείω μὲν φυλάπτειν δεῖ, πλείω δὲ ἄλλοις διανέμειν, πλειόνων δὲ ἐπιμελόμενον πράγματα ἔχειν. 41. νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἐμὲ πολλοὶ μὲν οἰκέται σῆτον αἴτοιστι, πολλοὶ δὲ πιεῖν, πολλοὶ δὲ ιμάτια· οἱ δὲ ἱατρῶν δέονται· ἥκει δέ τις ἡ τῶν προβάτων λελυκωμένα φέρων ἡ τῶν βοῶν κατακεκρημμισμένα ἡ νόσον φάσκων ἐμπεπτωκέναι τοῖς κτήνεσιν· ὥστε μοι δοκῶ, ἔφη ὁ Φεραύλας, νῦν διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἔχειν πλείω λυπεῖσθαι ἡ πρόσθεν διὰ τὸ δλίγα ἔχειν.

42. Καὶ ὁ Σάκας, Ἄλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δῖ, ἔφη, ὅταν σῶα² ἦ, πολλὰ ὄρῶν πολλαπλάσια ἐμοῦ εὐφραίνει.

Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν, Οὕτοι, ὡς Σάκα, οὔτως ἡδύ ἔστι τὸ ἔχειν χρήματα ὡς ἀνιαρὸν τὸ ἀποβάλλειν. γνωσει δέ ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πλουτούντων οὐδεὶς ἀναγκάζεται ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀγρυπνεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἀποβαλλόντων τι ὅψει οὐδένα δυνάμενον καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης.

43. Μὰ Δῖ, ἔφη ὁ Σάκας, οὐδέ γε τῶν λαμβανόντων τι νυστάζοντα οὐδένα ἀν ἵδοις ὑφ' ἡδονῆς.

¹ ἐπλούτησας Hertlein, recent Edd.; τεπλούτηκας MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

² σῶα MSS., Marchant, Gemoll; σᾶ Dindorf, Hug.

must enjoy your riches much more, I think, for the very reason that it was only after being hungry for wealth that you became rich."

40. "Why, do you actually suppose, my Sacian friend," answered Pheraulas, "that the more I own, the more happily I live? You are not aware," he went on, "that it gives me not one whit more pleasure to eat and drink and sleep now than it did when I was poor. My only gain from having so much is that I am obliged to take care of more, distribute more to others, and have the trouble of looking after more than I used to have. 41. For now many domestics look to me for food, many for drink, and many for clothes, while some need doctors; and one comes to me with a tale about sheep attacked by wolves, or of oxen killed by falling over a precipice, or to say that some disease has broken out among the cattle. And so it looks to me," said Pheraulas, "as if I had more trouble now through possessing much than I used to have from possessing little."

42. "But still, by Zeus," said the Sacian, "when everything is going well, you must at the sight of so many blessings be many times as happy as I."

"The pleasure that the possession of wealth gives, my good Sacian," said Pheraulas, "is not nearly so great as the pain that is caused by its loss. And you shall be convinced that what I say is true: for not one of those who are rich is made sleepless for joy, but of those who lose anything you will not see one who is able to sleep for grief."

43. "Not so, by Zeus," said the Sacian; "but of those who get anything not one could you see who gets a wink of sleep for very joy."

44. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, λέγεις· εἰ γάρ τοι τὸ ἔχειν οὕτως ὥσπερ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἥδυ ἦν, πολὺ ἀν διέφερον εὐδαιμονίᾳ οἱ πλούσιοι τῶν πενήτων. καὶ ἀνάγκη δέ τοι ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὡ Σάκα, τὸν πολλὰ ἔχοντα πολλὰ καὶ δαπανᾶν καὶ εἰς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς φίλους καὶ εἰς ξένους· ὅστις οὖν ἴσχυρῶς χρήμασιν ἥδεται, εὑ ἵσθι τοῦτον καὶ δαπανῶντα ἴσχυρῶς ἀνιᾶσθαι.

45. Ναὶ¹ μὰ Δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Σάκας· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτων εἰμί, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦτο νομίζω τὸ πολλὰ ἔχοντα πολλὰ καὶ δαπανᾶν.

46. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Φεραύλας, οὐχὶ σύγε αὐτίκα μάλα εὐδαίμων ἐγένουν καὶ ἐμὲ εὐδαίμονα ἐποίησας; λαβὼν γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα πάντα κέκτησο, καὶ χρῶ ὅπως βούλει αὐτοῖς· ἐμὲ δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ ξένουν τρέφε, καὶ ἔτι εὐτελέστερον ἢ ξένουν ἀρκέσει γάρ μοι ὃ τι ἀν καὶ σὺ ἔχῃς τούτων μετέχειν.

47. Παίζεις, ἔφη ὁ Σάκας.

Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας ὀμόσας εἶπεν ἢ μὴν σπουδῇ λέγειν. καὶ ἄλλα γέ σοι, ὡ Σάκα, προσδιαπράξομαι παρὰ Κύρου, μήτε θύρας τὰς Κύρου θεραπεύειν μήτε στρατεύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν πλουτῶν οἴκοι μένε· ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσω καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἔάν τι ἀγαθὸν προσλαμβάνω διὰ τὴν Κύρου θεραπείαν ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ στρατείας τινός, οἷσω πρὸς σέ, ἵνα ἔτι πλειόνων ἄρχῃς· μόνον, ἔφη, ἐμὲ ἀπόλυτον ταύτης τῆς ἐπιμελείας· ἢν γὰρ ἐγὼ

¹ Ναὶ added by Hertlein, recent Edd.; not in MSS., earlier Edd.

44. "True," said the other; "for, you see, if having were as pleasant as getting, the rich would be incomparably happier than the poor. But, you see, my good Sacian, it is also a matter of course that he who has much should also spend much both in the service of the gods and for his friends and for the strangers within his gates. Let me assure you, therefore, that any one who takes inordinate pleasure in the possession of money is also inordinately distressed at having to part with it."

45. "Aye, by Zeus," answered the Sacian; "but I am not one of that sort; my idea of happiness is both to have much and also to spend much."

46. "In the name of the gods, then," said Pheraulas, "please make yourself happy at once and make me happy, too! Take all this and own it and use it as you wish. And as for me, you need do no more than keep me as a guest—aye, even more sparingly than a guest, for I shall be content to share whatever you have."

47. "You are joking," said the Sacian.

But Pheraulas assured him with an oath that he was really in earnest in what he proposed. "And I will get you other favours besides from Cyrus, my Sacian—exemption from attending at court and from serving in the field; you may just stay at home with your wealth. I will attend to those other duties for you as well as for myself; and if I secure anything more of value either through my attendance upon Cyrus or from some campaign, I will bring it to you, so that you may have still more wealth at your command. Only deliver me from this care. For if you

σχολὴν ἄγω ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐμοὶ τέ σε οἶμαι πολλὰ
καὶ Κύρῳ χρήσιμον ἔσεσθαι.

48. Τούτων οὕτω ῥηθέντων ταῦτα συνέθεντο
καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡγεῖτο εὐδαιμῶν
γεγενῆσθαι, ὅτι πολλῶν ἡρχε χρημάτων· ὁ δὲ αὖ
ἐνόμιζε μακαριώτατος εἶναι, ὅτι ἐπίτροπον ἔξι,
σχολὴν παρέχοντα¹ πράττειν ὃ τι ἀν αὐτῷ
ἡδὺ ἔ.

49. Ἡν δὲ τοῦ Φεραύλα ὁ τρόπος φιλέταιρός
τε καὶ θεραπεύειν οὐδὲν ἡδὺ αὐτῷ οὔτως ἐδόκει
εἶναι οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ως ἀνθρώπους. καὶ γὰρ
βέλτιστον πάντων τῶν ζῴων ἡγεῖτο ἀνθρωπον
εἶναι καὶ εὐχαριστότατον, ὅτι ἔώρα τούς τε
ἐπαινουμένους ὑπό τινος ἀντεπαινοῦντας τούτους
προθύμως τοῖς τε χαριζομένοις πειρωμένους ἀντι-
χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ οὓς γνοῖεν εὔνοϊκῶς ἔχοντας,
τούτοις ἀντευνοοῦντας, καὶ οὓς εἰδεῖεν φιλοῦντας
αὐτούς, τούτους μισεῖν οὐ δυναμένους, καὶ γονέας
δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀντιθεραπεύειν πάντων τῶν ζῴων
ἔθέλοντας καὶ ζῶντας καὶ τελευτήσαντας· τὰ δὲ
ἄλλα πάντα ζῷα καὶ ἀχαριστότερα καὶ ἀγνω-
μονέστερα ἀνθρώπων ἐγίγνωσκεν εἶναι. 50. οὕτω
δὴ ὁ τε Φεραύλας ὑπερήδετο ὅτι ἔξεσοιτο αὐτῷ
ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ἐπιμε-
λείας ἀμφὶ τοὺς φίλους ἔχειν, ὁ τε Σάκας ὅτι
ἔμελλε πολλὰ ἔχων πολλοῖς χρήσεσθαι. ἐφίλει
δὲ ὁ μὲν Σάκας τὸν Φεραύλαν, ὅτι προσέφερέ τι
μεί· ὁ δὲ τὸν Σάκαν, ὅτι παραλαμβάνειν πάντα

¹ παρέχοντα xxv, Edd.; παρέξοντα y.

will relieve me of its burden, I think you will do a great service also to Cyrus as well as to myself."

48. When they had thus talked things over together, they came to an agreement according to this last suggestion and proceeded to act upon it. And the one thought that he had been made a happy man because he had command of great riches, while the other considered himself most blessed because he was to have a steward who would give him leisure to do only whatever was pleasant to him.

49. Now, Pheraulas was naturally a "good fellow," He delights
to serve
others and nothing seemed to him so pleasant or so useful as to serve other people. For he held man to be the best and most grateful of all creatures, since he saw that when people are praised by any one they are very glad to praise him in turn; and when any one does them a favour, they try to do him one in return; when they recognize that any one is kindly disposed toward them they return his good-will; and when they know that any one loves them they cannot dislike him; and he noticed especially that they strive more earnestly than any other creature to return the loving care of parents both during their parents' lifetime and after their death; whereas all other creatures, he knew, were both more thankless and more unfeeling than man. 50. And so Pheraulas was An unusual
partnership greatly delighted to think that he could be rid of the care of all his worldly goods and devote himself to his friends; and the Sacian, on his part, was delighted to think that he was to have much and enjoy much. And the Sacian loved Pheraulas because he was always bringing him something more; and Pheraulas loved the Sacian because he

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ἥθελε καὶ ἀεὶ πλειόνων ἐπιμελόμενος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον αὐτῷ ἀσχολίαν παρεῖχε.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διῆγον.

IV

1. Θύσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Κῦρος νικητήρια ἔστιῶν ἐκάλεσε τῶν φίλων οἱ μάλιστ' αὐτὸν αὕξειν τε βουλόμενοι φανέροι ἥσαν καὶ τιμῶντες εὔνοϊκώτατα. συνεκάλεσε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Μῆδον καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον καὶ τὸν Ἄρτιον ἵππαρχον καὶ Γωβρύαν. 2. Γαδάτας δὲ τῶν σκηπτούχων ἦρχεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἡ ἐκεῖνος διεκόσμησεν ἡ πᾶσα ἔνδον δίαιτα καθειστήκει· καὶ ὅπότε μὲν συνδειπνούεν τινες, οὐδὲ ἐκάθιζε Γαδάτας, ἀλλ' ἐπεμέλετο· ὅπότε δὲ αὐτοὶ εἰεν, καὶ συνεδείπνει· ἥδετο γὰρ αὐτῷ συνών· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἐτιμάτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου, διὰ δὲ Κύρου καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων.

3. ‘Ως δ’ ἥλθον οἱ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, οὐχ ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἔκαστον ἐκάθιζεν, ἀλλ’ διὰ μὲν μάλιστα ἐτίμα, παρὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα, ὡς εὐεπιβουλευτοτέρας ταύτης οὕσης ἡ τῆς δεξιᾶς, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον πάλιν παρὰ τὴν ἀριστεράν, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν· καὶ ἦν πλείονες ὥσιν, ὥσαύτως. 4. σαφηνίζεσθαι δὲ ὡς ἔκαστον ἐτίμα διὰ¹ τοῦτο ἐδόκει

¹ διὰ Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS., other Edd.

was willing to take charge of everything; and though the Sacian had continually more in his charge, none the more did he trouble Pheraulas about it.

Thus these two continued to live.

IV

1. WHEN Cyrus had sacrificed and was celebrating ^{A royal} banquet his victory with a banquet, he invited in those of his friends who showed that they were most desirous of magnifying his rule and of honouring him most loyally. He invited with them Artabazus the Mede, Tigranes the Armenian, Gobryas, and the commander of the Hyrcanian horse. 2. Now Gadatas was the chief of the mace-bearers, and the whole household was managed as he directed. Whenever guests dined with Cyrus, Gadatas did not even take his seat, but attended upon them. But when they were by themselves, he would dine with Cyrus, for Cyrus enjoyed his company. And in return for his services he received many valuable presents from Cyrus himself and, through Cyrus's influence, from others also.

3. So when invited guests came to dinner, he did not assign them their seats at random, but he seated on Cyrus's left the one for whom he had the highest regard, for the left side was more readily exposed to treacherous designs than the right; and the one who was second in esteem he seated on his right, the third again on the left, the fourth on the right, and so on, if there were more. 4. For he thought it a good plan to show publicly how much regard he had

Order of
preferment
at Cyrus's
dinners

αὐτῷ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ὅτι ὅπου μὲν οὖνται ἄνθρωποι τὸν κρατιστεύοντα μήτε κηρυχθήσεσθαι μήτε ἀθλα λήφεσθαι, δῆλοί εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα οὐ φιλονίκως πρὸς ἄλληλους ἔχοντες· ὅπου δὲ μάλιστα πλεονεκτῶν ὁ κράτιστος φαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα προθυμότατα φανεροί εἰσιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πάντες.

5. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος δὲ οὕτως ἐσαφήνιζε μὲν τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας παρ' ἑαυτῷ, εὐθὺς ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἕδρας καὶ παραστάσεως. οὐ μέντοι ἀθανατον τὴν ταχθεῖσαν ἕδραν κατεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ νόμιμον ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις προβῆναι εἰς τὴν τιμιωτέραν ἕδραν, καὶ εἴ τις ῥᾳδιουργοίη, ἀναχωρήσαι εἰς τὴν ἀτιμοτέραν. τὸν δὲ πρωτεύοντα ἐν ἕδρᾳ ἡσχύνετο μὴ οὐ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ Κύρου γενόμενα οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένοντα αἰσθανόμεθα.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνουν, ἐδόκει τῷ Γωβρύᾳ τὸ μὲν πολλὰ ἔκαστα εἶναι οὐδέν τι θαυμαστὸν παρ' ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἄρχοντι· τὸ δὲ τὸν Κῦρον οὕτω μεγάλα πράττοντα, εἴ τι ἡδὺ δόξειε λαβεῖν, μηδὲν τούτων μόνον κατιδαπανᾶν, ἀλλ' ἔργον ἔχειν δεόμενον¹ τούτου κοινωνεῖν τοὺς παρόντας,² πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων φίλων ἔστιν οἷς ἐώραπέμποντα ταῦτα αὐτὸν οἷς ἡσθεὶς τύχοι. 7. ὥστε ἐπεὶ ἐδείπνηκεσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ³ πολλὰ ὄντα διεπεπόμφει ὁ Κῦρος ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης,

¹ δεόμενον zV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; τὸν δεόμενον y, Cobet; αὐτὸν δεόμενον Richards, Gemoll; τῶν ἐδομένων x; αὐτὸν ἐδόμενον (when he was about to eat) Marchant.

² τὸν παρόντας MSS., most Edd.; [τὸν π.] Cobet, Hug.

³ λοιπὰ added by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS., other Edd.

for each one, because where people feel that the one who merits most will neither have his praise proclaimed nor receive a prize, there is no emulation among them; but where the most deserving is seen to receive the most preferment, there all are seen to contend most eagerly for the first place.

5. Accordingly, Cyrus thus made public recognition of those who stood first in his esteem, beginning even with the places they took when sitting or standing in his company. He did not, however, assign the appointed place permanently, but he made it a rule that by noble deeds any one might advance to a more honoured seat, and that if any one should conduct himself ill he should go back to one less honoured. And Cyrus felt it a discredit to himself, if the one who sat in the seat of highest honour was not also seen to receive the greatest number of good things at his hands. And we observe, furthermore, that this custom introduced in the time of Cyrus continues in force even to our own times.

6. Now, when they were at dinner, it struck Gobryas as not at all surprising that there was a great abundance of everything upon the table of a man who ruled over wide domains; but what did excite his wonder was that Cyrus, who enjoyed so great good fortune, should never consume by himself any delicacy that he might receive, but took pains to ask his guests to share it, and that he often saw him send even to some of his friends who were not there something that he happened to like very much himself. 7. And so when the dinner was over and Cyrus had sent around to others all that was left from the meal—and there was a great deal left—Gobryas

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είπεν ἄρα ὁ Γωβρύας, Ἀλλ', ἐγώ, ὁ Κῦρε, πρόσθεν μὲν ἡγούμην τούτῳ σε πλεῖστον διαφέρειν ἀνθρώπων τῷ στρατηγικώτατον εἶναι· νῦν δὲ θεοὺς δόμνυμι ἢ μὴν ἐμὸν δοκεῖν πλέον σε διαφέρειν φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἢ στρατηγίᾳ.

8. Νὴ Δλ̄, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐπιδείκνυμαι τὰ ἔργα πολὺ ἥδιον φιλανθρωπίας ἢ στρατηγίας.

Πῶς δὴ; ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας.

"Οτι, ἔφη, τὰ μὲν κακῶς ποιοῦντα ἀνθρώπους δεῖ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, τὰ δὲ εὖ.

9. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπεὶ ὑπέπινον, ἥρετο ὁ 'Τστάσπας τὸν Κῦρον, Ἀρ' ἄν, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, ἀχθεσθείης μοι, εἰ σε ἐρούμην ὁ βούλομαι σου πυθέσθαι;

'Αλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἔφη, τούναντίον τούτου ἀχθούμην ἄν σοι, εἰ αἰσθούμην σιωπῶντα ἢ βούλοιο ἔρεσθαι.

Δέγε δή μοι, ἔφη, ἥδη πώποτε καλέσαντός σου οὐκ ἥλθον;

Εὐφῆμει, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος.

'Αλλ' ὑπακούων σχολῆ ὑπήκουσα;

Οὐδὲ τοῦτο.

Προσταχθὲν δέ τι ἥδη σοι οὐκ ἔπραξα;

Οὐκ αἴτιῶμαι, ἔφη.

"Ο δὲ πράττοιμι, ἔστιν ὅ τι πώποτε οὐ προθύμως ἢ οὐχ ἥδομένως πράττοντά με κατέγνωσ;

Τοῦτο δὴ πάντων ἥκιστα, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος.

could not help remarking : " Well, Cyrus, I used to think that you surpassed all other men in that you were the greatest general ; and now, I swear by the gods, you seem actually to excel even more in kindness than in generalship."

8. " Aye, by Zeus," answered Cyrus ; " and what is more, I assure you that I take much more pleasure in showing forth my deeds of kindness than ever I did in my deeds of generalship."

" How so ? " asked Gobryas.

" Because," said he, " in the one field, one must necessarily do harm to men ; in the other, only good."

9. Later, when they were drinking after their meal, Hystaspes asked : " Pray, Cyrus, would you be displeased with me, if I were to ask you something that I wish to know from you ? "

" Why, no ; by the gods, no," he answered ; " on the contrary, I should be displeased with you if I found that you refrained from asking something that you wished to ask."

" Tell me, then," said the other, " did I ever fail to come when you sent for me ? "

" Hush ! "¹ said Cyrus.

" Or, obeying, did I ever obey reluctantly ? "

" No ; nor that."

" Or did I ever fail to do your bidding in anything ? "

" I make no such accusation," answered Cyrus.

" And is there anything I did that you found me doing otherwise than eagerly or cheerfully ? "

" That, least of all," answered Cyrus.

¹ The Greek says : " Speak words of good omen"—i.e., preserve auspicious silence.

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10. Τίνος μὴν ἔνεκα, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ
Κῦρε, Χρυσάνταν ἔγραψας ὥστε εἰς τὴν τιμιω-
τέραν ἐμοῦ χώραν ἴδρυθῆναι;

*Η λέγω; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος.

Πάντως, ἔφη ὁ Τστάσπας.

Καὶ σὺ αὖ οὐκ ἀχθέσει¹ μοι ἀκούων τὰληθῆ;

11. Ἡσθήσομαι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἦν εἰδῶ ὅτι οὐκ
ἀδικοῦμαι.

Χρυσάντας τοίνυν, ἔφη, οὗτοσὶ πρῶτον μὲν οὐ
κλῆσιν ἀνέμενεν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν καλεῖσθαι παρῆν τῶν
ἡμετέρων ἔνεκα· ἔπειτα δὲ οὐ τὸ κελευόμενον
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τι αὐτὸς γνοίη ἀμεινον εἶναι
πεπραγμένον ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἔπραττεν. ὅπότε δὲ
εἰπεῖν τι δέοι εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους, ἢ μὲν ἐμὲ φέτο
πρέπειν λέγειν ἐμοὶ συνεβούλευεν· ἢ δὲ ἐμὲ
αἰσθοιτο βουλόμενον μὲν εἰδέναι τοὺς συμμάχους,
αὐτὸν δέ με αἰσχυνόμενον περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγειν,
ταῦτα οὕτοις λέγων ὡς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο.
ῶστ' ἔν γε τούτοις τί κωλύει αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμοῦ ἐμοὶ²
κρείττονα εἶναι; καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἀεὶ φησι πάντα τὰ
παρόντα ἀρκεῖν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀεὶ φανερός ἐστι σκοπῶν
τί ἀν προσγενόμενον ὄντησειν, ἐπί τε τοῖς ἐμοῖς
καλοῖς πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ ἀγάλλεται καὶ ἥδεται.

12. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Τστάσπας εἶπε, Νὴ τὴν
“Ηραν, ὁ Κῦρε, ἥδομαι γε ταῦτα σε ἐρωτήσας.

Τί μάλιστα; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος.

¹ ἀχθέσει most Edd.; ἀχθεσθήσῃ(-ει) MSS., Breitenbach.

10. "Then why, in heaven's name, Cyrus," he said, "did you put Chrysantas down for a more honourable place than mine?"

"Am I really to tell you?" asked Cyrus.

"By all means," answered Hystaspas.

"And you, on your part, will not be angry with me when you hear the truth?"

11. "Nay rather," said he, "I shall be more than glad, if I find that I am not being slighted."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "in the first place, Why Cyrus
Chrysantas here did not wait to be sent for, but preferred
presented himself for our service even before he was
called; and in the second place, he has always done
not only what was ordered but all that he himself
saw was better for us to have done. Again, whenever
it was necessary to send some communication to the
allies, he would give me advice as to what he thought
proper for me to say; and whenever he saw that
I wished the allies to know about something, but
that I felt some hesitation in saying anything about
myself, he would always make it known to them,
giving it as his own opinion. And so, in these
matters at least, what reason is there why he should
not be of more use to me even than I am myself?
And finally, he always insists that what he has is
enough for him, while he is manifestly always on the
lookout for some new acquisition that would be of
advantage to me, and takes much more pleasure and
joy in my good fortune than I do myself."

12. "By Hera," said Hystaspas in reply, "I am
glad at any rate that I asked you this question,
Cyrus."

"Why so, pray?" asked Cyrus.

"Οτι κάγω πειράσομαι ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἐν μόνον,
ἔφη, ἀγνοῶ, πῶς ἀν εἶη δῆλος χαίρων ἐπὶ τοὺς
σοῦς ἀγαθοῖς πότερον κροτεῖν δεῖ τῷ χεῖρε ἡ
γέλαν ἢ τῇ ποιεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος εἶπεν, Ὁρχεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ
Περσικόν.

'Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο. 13. Προ-
ιόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Γωβρύαν
ἐπήρετο, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύα, νῦν ἀν δοκεῖς
ἥδιον τῶνδέ τῳ τὴν θυγατέρα δοῦναι ἢ ὅτε τὸ
πρώτου ἡμῖν συνεγένου;

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, κάγὼ τάληθῇ λέγω;

Νὴ Δᾶ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ως ψεύδους γε οὐδεμίᾳ
ἐρώτησις δεῖται.

Ἐν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἵσθι ὅτι νῦν ἀν πολὺ ἥδιον.

*Η καὶ ἔχοις ἀν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰπεῖν διότι;

14. Ἔγωγε.

Δέγε δή.

"Οτι τότε μὲν ἑώρων τοὺς πόνους καὶ τοὺς κιν-
δύνους εὐθύμως αὐτοὺς φέροντας, νῦν δὲ ὄρῳ
αὐτοὺς τάγαθὰ σωφρόνως φέροντας. δοκεῖ δέ
μοι, ὁ Κῦρε, χαλεπώτερον εἶναι εύρεῖν ἄνδρα
τάγαθὰ καλῶς φέροντα ἢ τὰ κακά· τὰ μὲν γὰρ

"Because I too shall try to do as he does," said he. "Only I am not sure about one thing—I do not know how I could show that I rejoice at your good fortune. Am I to clap my hands or laugh or what must I do?"

"You must dance the Persian dance,"¹ suggested Artabazus.

At this, of course, there was a laugh. 13. But, as the banquet proceeded, Cyrus put this question to Gobryas: "Tell me, Gobryas," said he, "would you be more ready to consent now to give your daughter to one of my friends here than you were when first you joined us?"

"Well," answered Gobryas, "shall I also tell the truth?"

"Aye, by Zeus," answered Cyrus; "surely no question calls for a falsehood."

"Well, then," he replied, "I should consent much more readily now, I assure you."

"And would you mind telling us why?" asked Cyrus.

"Certainly not."

"Tell us, then."

14. "Because, while at that time I saw them bear toils and dangers with cheerfulness, now I see them bear their good fortune with self-control. And to me, Cyrus, it seems harder to find a man who can bear good fortune well than one who can bear misfortune well; for it is the former that engenders

¹ What the "Persian dance" was is not known; hence we miss the whole point of the joke. Obviously, however, it was a dance with many gesticulations. At all events, Artabazus introduces his jest about the dance only to cut short the maudlin talk of Hystaspas.

Hystaspas
asks for the
daughter of
Gobryas

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ῦβριν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τὰ δὲ σωφροσύνην τοῖς πᾶσιν
ἔμποιεῖ.

15. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἡκουσας, ὡς Ἐστάσπα,
Γωβρύου τὸ ρῆμα;

Ναὶ μὰ Δὲ, ἔφη· καὶ ἐὰν πολλὰ τοιαῦτά γε
λέγῃ, πολὺ μᾶλλόν με τῆς θυγατρὸς μνηστῆρα
λήψεται ἢ ἐὰν ἐκπώματα πολλά μοι ἐπιδεικνύῃ.

16. Ἡ μήν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, πολλά γέ μοι
ἐστι τοιαῦτα συγγεγραμμένα, ὡν ἐγώ σοι οὐ
φθονήσω, ἢν τὴν θυγατέρα μου γυναικα λαμβά-
νης· τὰ δὲ ἐκπώματα, ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι
μοι φαίνει, οὐκ οἰδ' εἰ Χρυσάντα τουτῷ¹ δῶ,
ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἔδραν σου ὑφήρπασε.

17. Καὶ μὲν δή, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὡς Ἐστάσπα,
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ παρόντες, ἢν ἐμοὶ λέγητε,
ὅταν τις ὑμῶν γαμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσῃ, γυνώσεσθε
ὅποιός τις κάγῳ συνεργὸς ὑμῖν ἔσομαι.

18. Καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν, Ἡν δέ τις ἐκδοῦναι
βούληται θυγατέρα, πρὸς τίνα δεῖ λέγειν;

Πρὸς ἐμέ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ τοῦτο πάνυ γάρ,
ἔφη, δεινός είμι ταύτην τὴν τέχνην.

Ποίαν; ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας.

19. Τὸ γυνῶναι ὅποιος ἀν γάμος ἐκάστῳ συν-
αρμόσειε.

Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἔφη, Λέγε δὴ πρὸς τῶν
θεῶν ποίαν τινά μοι γυναικα οἴει συναρμόσειν
κάλλιστα.

20. Πρῶτον μέν, ἔφη, μικράν· μικρὸς γάρ καὶ
αὐτὸς εἰ· εἰ· δὲ μεγάλην γαμεῖς, ἢν ποτε βούλῃ

¹ τουτῷ Hertlein, later Edd.; τούτῳ MSS., earlier Edd.

arrogance in most men ; it is the latter that inspires in all men self-control."

15. "Hystaspas, did you hear that saying of Gobryas ?" asked Cyrus.

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered ; "and if he has many such things to say, he will find me a suitor for his daughter's hand much sooner than he would if he should exhibit to me a great number of goblets."

16. "I promise you," said Gobryas, "that I have a great number of such saws written down, and I will not begrudge them to you, if you get my daughter to be your wife. But as to the goblets," said he, "inasmuch as you do not seem to appreciate them, I rather think I shall give them to Chrysantas here, since he also has usurped your place at table."

17. "And what is more, Hystaspas—yes, and you others here," said Cyrus, "if you will let me know whenever any one of you is proposing to marry, you will discover what manner of assistant I, too, shall be to you."

18. "And if any one has a daughter to give in marriage," said Gobryas, "to whom is he to apply ?"

"To me," said Cyrus ; "for I am exceedingly skilled in that art."

"What art ?" asked Chrysantas.

19. "In knowing what sort of match would suit each one of you."

"Tell me, then, for heaven's sake," said Chrysantas, "what sort of wife you think would suit me best."

20. "In the first place," said he, "she must be small ; for you are small yourself ; and if you marry a tall woman and wish to kiss her when she is

Cyrus sets
up a matri-
monial
bureau

αὐτὴν ὁρθὴν φιλῆσαι, προσάλλεσθαι σε δεήσει
ῶσπερ τὰ κυνάρια.

Τοῦτο μὲν δή, ἔφη, ὁρθῶς προνοεῖς· καὶ γὰρ
οὐδ' ὅπωστιοῦν ἀλπικός είμι.

21. Ἐπειτα δ', ἔφη, σιμὴ ἄν σοι ἵσχυρῶς
συμφέροι.

Πρὸς τί δὴ αὖ τοῦτο;

"Οτι, ἔφη, σὺ γρυπὸς εἶ· πρὸς οὖν τὴν σιμότητα
σάφ' ἴσθι δτι ἡ γρυπότης ἄριστ' ἀν προσαρμόσειε.

Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, ως καὶ τῷ εὖ δεδειπνηκότι
ῶσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ἀδειπνος ἀν συναρμόττοι.¹

Ναὶ μὰ Δῖ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· τῶν μὲν γὰρ μεστῶν
γρυπὴ ἡ γαστὴρ γίγνεται, τῶν δὲ ἀδείπνων σιμή.

22. Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἔφη, Ψυχρῷ δ' ἄν, πρὸς
τῶν θεῶν, βασιλεῖ ἔχοις ἀν εἰπεῖν ποία τις
συνοίσει;

'Ενταῦθα μὲν δὴ δ τε Κῦρος ἐξεγέλασε καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι ὄμοιώς.

23. Γελώντων δὲ ἀμα εἰπεν ὁ Τστάσπας, Πολύ
γ', ἔφη, μάλιστα τούτου σε, ὡ Κῦρε, ζηλῶ ἐν
τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

Τίνος; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος.

"Οτι δύνασαι καὶ ψυχρὸς ὥν γέλωτα παρέχειν.

Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἰπεν, Ἐπειτα οὐκ ἀν πρίαϊ
γε παμπόλλου ὕστε σοὶ ταῦτ' εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ

¹ συναρμόττοι Dindorf, most Edd.; συναρμόζοι xy, Sauppe;
συναρμόσοι z.

standing up straight, you will have to jump for it, like a puppy."

" You are quite right in that provision for me," said he; " and I should never get my kiss, for I am no jumper at all."

21. " And in the next place," Cyrus went on, " a snub-nosed woman would suit you admirably."

" Why so ? "

" Because," was the answer, " your own nose is so hooked ; and hookedness, I assure you, would be the very proper mate for snubbiness."

" Do you mean to say also," said the other, " that a supperless wife would suit one who has had a good dinner, like me now ? "

" Aye, by Zeus," answered Cyrus; " for the stomach of one who has eaten heartily bows out, but that of one who has not eaten bows in."

22. " Then, in heaven's name," said Chrysantas, Cyrus's " could you tell us what sort of wife would suit a ^{"frigid"} _{jokes} frigid king ? " ¹

At this, of course, Cyrus burst out laughing, as did also all the rest.

23. " I envy you for that, Cyrus," said Hystaspas while they were still laughing, " more than for anything else in your kingdom."

" Envy me for what ? " asked Cyrus.

" Why, that, frigid as you are, you can still make us laugh."

" Well," said Cyrus, " and would you not give a great deal to have made these jokes and to have

¹ On the principle of opposites just described, the man who is *ψυχρός* ("frigid," "cold-blooded") should have a wife who is *θερμή*. In § 23 *ψυχρός* is used in another sense—"frigid" or "dull" in his humour.

XENOPHON

ἀπαγγελθῆναι παρ' ἦ τοι εὐδοκιμεῖν βούλει ὅτι
ἀστεῖος εἶ;

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω διεσκώπητο.

24. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τυγράνη μὲν ἔξήνεγκε
γυναικεῖον κόσμον, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τῇ γυναικὶ¹
δοῦναι, ὅτι ἀνδρείως συνεστρατεύετο τῷ ἀνδρὶ,
Ἄρταβάζῳ δὲ χρυσοῦν ἔκπωμα, τῷ δὲ Τρκανίφ
ἴππουν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐδωρήσατο.
Σοὶ δέ, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύα, δώσω ἄνδρα τῇ θυγατρὶ.

25. Οὐκοῦν ἐμέ, ἔφη ὁ Τστάσπας, δώσεις,
ίνα καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα λάβω.

“Η καὶ ἔστι σοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐσία ἀξία
τῶν τῆς παιδός;

Νὴ Δᾶ, ἔφη, πολλαπλασίων μὲν οὖν χρημάτων.

Καὶ ποῦ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἔστι σοι αὕτη ἡ οὐσία;

Ἐνταῦθα, ἔφη, ὅπουπερ καὶ σὺ κάθησαι φίλος
ῶν ἐμοί.

Ἄρκει μοι, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκτείνας
τὴν δεξιάν, Δίδου, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε· δέχομαι γάρ.

26. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ Τστάσπου
δεξιὰν ἐδωκε τῷ Γωβρύᾳ, ὁ δὲ ἐδέξατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐδωκε δῶρα τῷ Τστάσπᾳ,
ὅπως τῇ παιδὶ πέμψειε· Χρυσάνταν δὲ ἐφίλησε
προσαγαγόμενος.

27. Καὶ ὁ Αρτάβαζος εἶπε, Μὰ Δᾶ, ἔφη,

them reported to the lady with whom you wish to have the reputation of being a witty fellow?"

Thus, then, these pleasantries were exchanged.

24. After this he brought out some articles of feminine adornment for Tigranes and bade him give them to his wife, because she had so bravely accompanied her husband throughout the campaigns; to Artabazus he gave a golden goblet and to the Hyrcanian a horse and many other beautiful presents. "And you, Gobryas," he said, "I will present with a husband for your daughter."

25. "You will please present him with me, then, will you not," said Hystaspas, "that so I may get the collection of proverbs?"

"Ah, but have you property enough to match the girl's fortune?" asked Cyrus.

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered, "and several times over."

"And where is this property of yours?" asked Cyrus.

"Right there," said he, "in your chair; for you are a friend of mine."

"I am satisfied," said Gobryas; and at once stretching ~~out~~ his right hand he added: "Give him to me, Cyrus; I will accept him."

26. And Cyrus took Hystaspas by the right hand and placed it in the hand of Gobryas, and he received it. And then Cyrus gave Hystaspas many splendid gifts to send to the young lady. But Chrysantas he drew to himself and kissed him.

27. "By Zeus, Cyrus," cried Artabazus, "the cup

Hystaspas receives the hand of Gobryas's daughter

ω̄ Κῦρε, οὐχ ὁμοίου γε χρυσοῦ ἐμοὶ τε τὸ ἔκπωμα
δέδωκας καὶ Χρυσάντᾳ τὸ δῶρον.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ σοί, ἔφη, δώσω.

Ἐπήρετο ἐκεῖνος, Πότε;

Εἰς τριακοστόν, ἔφη, ἔτος.

Ὦς ἀναμενοῦντος, ἔφη,¹ καὶ οὐκ ἀποθανουμένου
οὗτῳ παρασκευάζον.

Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔληξεν ἡ σκηνή· ἔξαν-
ισταμένων δ' αὐτῶν ἔξανέστη καὶ ὁ Κῦρος καὶ
συμπρούπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας.

28. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς ἔθελουσίους συμ-
μάχους γενομένους ἀπέπεμπεν οἴκαδε ἔκάστους,
πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ἐβούλοντο παρ' αὐτῷ
τούτοις δὲ χώραν καὶ οἴκους ἔδωκε, καὶ νῦν ἔτι
ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν καταμεινάντων τότε ἀπόγονον
πλεῖστοι δ' εἰσὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Τρκανίων· τοῖς δ'
ἀπιοῦσι δωρησάμενος πολλὰ καὶ ἀμέμπτους ποιη-
σάμενος καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ στρατιώτας ἀπε-
πέμψατο.

29. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ διέδωκε καὶ τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν
στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ὅσα ἐκ Σάρδεων ἔλαβε·
καὶ τοῖς μὲν μυριάρχοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν
ὑπηρέταις ἔξαίρετα ἐδίδου πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ἔκάστῳ,
τὰ δὲ ἄλλα διένειμε· καὶ τὸ μέρος ἔκάστῳ δοὺς
τῶν μυριάρχων ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς διανέμειν ὥσπερ
αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις διένειμεν. 30. ἐδίδοσαν δὲ τὰ
μὲν ἄλλα χρήματα ἄρχων² ἄρχοντας τοὺς ὑφ'
ἑαυτῷ δοκιμάζων· τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα οἱ ἔξαδαρχοι
τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἴδιώτας δοκιμάσαντες πρὸς τὴν

¹ Φη γε, Edd.; ξτι χ (I shall still be waiting).

² ἄρχων MSS., Edd.; <ἔκαστος> ἄρχων Gemoll.

which you have given me is not of the same gold as the present you have given Chrysantas!"

"Well," said he, "I will give you the same gift."

"When?" asked the other.

"Thirty years from now," was the answer.

"I shall wait for it, then," said he, "and not die before I get it; so be getting ready."

And thus that banquet came to an end. And as they rose to depart, Cyrus also rose and escorted them to the doors.

28. On the following day he dismissed to their several homes all those who had volunteered to be his allies, except such as wished to settle near him. To those who stayed he gave houses and lands which even to this day are in the possession of their descendants; these, moreover, were mostly Medes and Hyrcanians. And to those who went home he gave many presents and sent both officers and privates well contented on their way.

29. Next he divided also among his own soldiers the spoil that he had obtained at Sardis. To the generals and to his own aides-de-camp he gave the choicest portions—to each, according to his merit—and then distributed the rest; and in assigning to the generals their proper portions he left it to their discretion to distribute it as he had distributed to them.

30. And they apportioned all the rest, each officer examining into the merits of his subordinate officers; and what was left to the last, the corporals, inquiring into the merits of the private soldiers under their

Cyrus and
the allies

He divides
the Lydian
spoils

XENOPHON

ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ ἀδίδοσαν· καὶ οὕτω πάντες εἰλήφεσαν τὸ δίκαιον μέρος.

31. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰλήφεσαν τὰ τότε δοθέντα, οἱ μέν τινες ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ Κύρου τοιάδε· Ἡπού αὐτὸς γε πολλὰ ἔχει, ὅταν γε καὶ ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ τοσαῦτα δέδωκεν.

* Οἱ δέ τινες αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, Ποῖα πολλὰ ἔχει; οὐχ ὁ Κύρου τρόπος τοιοῦτος οἶος χρηματίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διδοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ κτώμενος ἥδεται.

32. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Κύρος τούτους τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς δόξας τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ συνέλεξε τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους ἄπαντας καὶ ἔλεξεν ὡδε· Ὡ άνδρες φίλοι, ἔωρακα μὲν ἡδη ἀνθρώπους οὐ βούλονται δοκεῖν πλείω κεκτῆσθαι ἢ ἔχουσιν, ἔλευθεριώτεροι ἀν οἰόμενοι οὕτω φαίνεσθαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν, ἔφη, οὗτοι τοῦμπαλιν οὐ βούλονται ἐφέλκεσθαι· τὸ γάρ πολλὰ δοκοῦντα ἔχειν μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν τῆς οὐσίας φαίνεσθαι ὡφελοῦντα τοὺς φίλους ἀνελευθερίαν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ περιάπτειν.

33. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὖ, ἔφη, οἱ λεληθέναι βούλονται δσα ἀν ἔχωσιν πονηροὶ οὖν καὶ οὗτοι τοῖς φίλοις ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. διὰ γάρ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ δύντα πολλάκις δεόμενοι οὐκ ἐπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ φίλοι τοῖς ἑταῖροις, ἀλλὰ τητῶνται.¹

34. Ἀπλουστάτου δέ μοι, ἔφη, δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ

¹ τητῶνται Dindorf, Edd.; ἡττῶνται xx; ἀπατῶνται yVG².

command, gave to each according to his deserts. And so all were in receipt of their fair share.

31. And when they had received what was then given them, some spoke concerning Cyrus in this vein : " He must be keeping an abundance himself, one would think, seeing that he has given so much to each one of us."

" Abundance, indeed ! " some others would say ; " Cyrus is not of the sort to make money for himself ; he takes more pleasure in giving than in keeping."

32. And when Cyrus heard of these remarks and opinions about himself, he called together his friends and all his staff-officers and addressed them as follows : " My friends, I have in my time seen fellows who wished to have the reputation of possessing more than they had, for they supposed that they would thus be thought fine gentlemen ; but to me," said he, " it seems that such persons bring upon themselves the very reverse of what they wish. For if any man enjoy the reputation of having great wealth and do not appear to help his friends in a manner worthy of his abundance—that, it seems to me at least, fixes upon him the stigma of being a mean sort.¹

The use
of
the abuse of
wealth

33. " On the other hand," he continued, " there are some who wish to keep it a secret how much they do possess. It seems to me, then, that these also are mean toward their friends. For oftentimes their friends are in need and, because they are ignorant of the truth, they say nothing to their comrades about their difficulties, and really suffer want.

34. " To me, however," he went on, " it seems

¹ Ἐλευθέριος and ἀνελευθερία have both a double meaning : (1) of free or mean extraction, and (2) of free (liberal) or miserly character.

τὴν δύναμιν φανερὰν ποιήσαντα ἐκ ταύτης ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ καλοκάγαθίας. κἀγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, βούλομαι ὑμῖν ὅσα μὲν οἶόν τ' ἐστὶν ἵδεν τῶν ἐμοὶ δυντῶν δεῖξαι, ὅσα δὲ μὴ οἶόν τε ἵδεν, διηγήσασθαι.

35. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν τὰ μὲν ἐδείκνυε¹ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κτήματα· τὰ δὲ κείμενα ως μὴ ράδια εἶναι ἵδεν διηγεῖτο· τέλος δ' εἶπεν ὡδε· 36. Ταῦτα, ἔφη, ως ἄνδρες, ἀπαντα δεῖ ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐμὰ ἥγεισθαι ή καὶ ὑμέτερα· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα ἀθροίζω οὕθ' ὅπως αὐτὸς καταδαπανήσω οὕθ' ὅπως αὐτὸς κατατρίψω· οὐ γὰρ ἀν δυναίμην ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχω τῷ τε ἀεὶ καλόν τι ὑμῶν ποιοῦντι διδόναι καὶ ὅπως, ήν τις ὑμῶν τινος ἐνδεῖσθαι νομίσῃ, πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐλθὼν λάβῃ οὐ ἀν ἐνδεής τυγχάνῃ ών.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐλέχθη.

V

1. Ἡνίκα δὲ ἦδη αὐτῷ ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν Βαθυλώνι ως καὶ ἀποδημεῖν, συνεσκευάζετο τὴν εἰς Πέρσας πορείαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήγγειλεν ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνόμισεν ἴκανὰ ἔχειν ών φέρο δεήσεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀνεξεύγνυε.²

2. Διηγησόμεθα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ως πολὺς στόλος ών εὐτάκτως μὲν ἀνεσκευάζετο,³ ταχὺ δὲ κατεχω-

¹ ἐδείκνυε MSS.; ἐδείκνυ Hug.

² ἀνεξεύγνυε MSS.; ἀνεξεύγνυ Hug.

³ ἀνεσκευάζετο E(?)F; κατεσκευάζετο καὶ πάλιν ἀνεσκευάζετο zDVO (in margin), most Edd. (unpacked and packed up again).

the most straightforward way for a man to let the extent of his means be known and to strive in proportion to them to show himself a gentleman. And so I wish to show you all that I have, as far as it is possible for you to see, and to give you an account of it, in so far as it is impossible for you to see it."

35. With these words, he showed them many splendid possessions and gave them an account of those that were so stored away as not to be easily viewed. And in conclusion he said: 36. "All this, my friends, you must consider mine no more than your own; for I have been collecting it, not that I might spend it all myself or use it up all alone (for I could not), but that I might on every occasion be able to reward any one of you who does something meritorious, and also that, if any one of you thinks he needs something, he might come to me and get whatever he happens to want."

Such was his speech.

Cyrus exhibits his possessions

V

1. When it seemed to him that affairs in Babylon were sufficiently well organized for him to absent himself from the city, he began to make preparations for his journey to Persia and issued instructions to the others accordingly. And as soon as he had got together in sufficient quantity, as he believed, everything that he thought he should need, he started at once.

2. We will relate here in how orderly a manner An oriental his train packed up, large though it was, and how camp quickly they reached the place where they were

XENOPHON

ρίζετο ὅπου δέοι. ὅπου γὰρ ἀν στρατοπεδεύηται βασιλεύς, σκηνὰς μὲν δὴ ἔχοντες πάντες οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα στρατεύονται καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος.

3. Εὐθὺς δὲ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζε Κῦρος, πρὸς ἦν
βλέπουσαν ἵσταμαι τὴν σκηνήν· ἔπειτα ἔταξε
πρῶτον μὲν πόσον δεῖ ἀπολιπόντας σκηνοῦν τοὺς
δορυφόρους· τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς· ἔπειτα σιτο-
ποιοῖς μὲν χώραν ἀπέδειξε τὴν δεξιάν, ὁψοποιοῖς
δὲ τὴν ἀριστεράν, ὑποις δὲ τὴν δεξιάν, ὑποζυγίοις
δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἀριστεράν· καὶ τāλλα δὲ
διετέτακτο ὥστε εἰδέναι ἔκαστον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
χώραν καὶ μέτρῳ καὶ τόπῳ.

4. "Οταν δὲ ἀνασκευάζωνται, συντίθησι μὲν
ἔκαστος σκεύη οἷσπερ τέτακται χρῆσθαι, ἀνατί-
θενται δ' αὖ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ὥσθ' ἂμα
μὲν πάντες ἔρχονται οἱ σκευαγωγοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τεταγ-
μένα ἄγειν, ἂμα δὲ πάντες ἀνατιθέασιν ἐπὶ τὰ
ἑαυτοῦ ἔκαστος. οὕτω δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος ἀρκεῖ
μιᾶ τε σκηνῆ καὶ πάσαις ἀνηρῆσθαι.

5. "Ωσαύτως οὕτως ἔχει καὶ περὶ κατασκευῆς.
καὶ περὶ τοῦ πεποιῆσθαι δὲ τάπιτήδεια πάντα ἐν
καιρῷ ὡσαύτως διατέτακται ἔκάστοις τὰ ποιητέα·
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος ἀρκεῖ ἐν τε μέρει
καὶ πᾶσι πεποιῆσθαι.

6. "Ωσπερ δὲ οἱ περὶ τάπιτήδεια θεράποντες
χώραν εἶχον τὴν προσήκουσαν ἔκαστοι, οὕτω καὶ
οἱ ὄπλοφόροι αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδεύσει χώραν
τε εἶχον τὴν τῇ ὄπλισει ἔκάστη ἐπιτηδείαν, καὶ
ἥδεσαν ταύτην ὅποια ἦν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμφισβήτητον
πάντες κατεχωρίζοντο. 7. καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο
ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα τὴν εὐθη-

due. For wherever the great king encamps, all his retinue follow him to the field with their tents, whether in summer or in winter.

3. At the very beginning Cyrus made this rule, that his tent should be pitched facing the east; and then he determined, first, how far from the royal pavilion the spearmen of his guard should have their tent; next he assigned a place on the right for the bakers, on the left for the cooks, on the right for the horses, and on the left for the rest of the pack-animals. And everything else was so organized that every one knew his own place in camp—both its size and its location.

4. And when they come to pack up again, every one gets together the things that it is his business to use and others in turn pack them upon the animals, so that the baggage-men all come at the same time to the things they were appointed to transport, and all at the same time pack the things upon their several animals. Thus the amount of time needed for striking a single tent suffices for all.

5. The unpacking also is managed in this same manner; and in order to have all the necessaries ready at the right time, each one has assigned to him likewise the part that he is to do. In this way the time required for doing any one part is sufficient for getting all the provisions ready.

6. And just as the servants in charge of the provisions had each his proper place, so also his soldiers had when they encamped the places suitable to each sort of troops; they knew their places, too, and so all found them without the slightest friction.

7. For Cyrus considered orderliness to be a good thing to practise in the management of a household

Cyrus's per-
fect organ-
ization

XENOPHON

μοσύνην ὅταν γάρ τις του δέηται, δῆλόν ἐστι
ὅπου δεῖ ἐλθόντα λαβεῖν πολὺ δ' ἔτι κάλλιον
ἐνόμιζε τὴν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν φύλων εὐθημο-
σύνην εἶναι, ὅσφ τε ὁξύτεροι οἱ καιροὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ
πολεμικὰ χρήσεων καὶ μείζω τὰ σφάλματα ἀπὸ
τῶν ὑστεριζόντων αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν καιρῷ
παραγνυομένων πλείστου ἄξια πλεονεκτήματα¹
ἔώρα γυνόμενα ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς διὰ ταῦτα
οὖν καὶ ἐπεμέλετο ταύτης τῆς εὐθημοσύνης μάλι-
στα.

8. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ
κατετίθετο τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὡς ταύτης τῆς χώ-
ρας ἔχυρωτάτης οὖσης ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν
πιστοτάτους ὥσπερ εἰώθει περὶ ἑαυτὸν εἶχε, τού-
των δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ ἔχομένους ἵππεας τ' εἶχε καὶ
ἀρματηλάτας. 9. καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἔχυράς ἐνόμιζε
χώρας δεῖσθαι, ὅτι σὺν οἷς μάχονται ὄπλοις οὐδὲν
πρόχειρον ἔχοντες τούτων στρατοπεδεύονται, ἀλλὰ
πολλοῦ χρόνου δέονται εἰς τὴν ἐξόπλισιν, εἰ μέλ-
λουσι χρησίμως ἔξειν.

10. Ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἵππεων πελτασταῖς χώρα ἦν τοξοτῶν δὲ αὖ
χώρα ἡ πρόσθεν ἦν καὶ ὅπισθεν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν
ἵππεων. 11. ὄπλίτας δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μεγάλα
γέρρα ἔχοντας κύκλῳ πάντων εἶχεν ὥσπερ τεῖχος,
ὅπως καὶ εἴ δέοι τι ἐνσκευάζεσθαι τοὺς ἵππεας,
οἱ μονιμώτατοι πρόσθεν ὄντες παρέχοιεν αὐτοῖς
ἀσφαλῆ τὴν καθόπλισιν.

12. Ἐκάθευδον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τάξει ὥσπερ οἱ
ὄπλιται, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ τοξόται,

¹ πλεονεκτήματα Schneider, recent Edd.; τὰ κτήματα zV,
Dindorf, Breitenbach; ταῦτα (τὰ D) κτήματα xy.

also; for whenever any one wants a thing, he then knows where he must go to find it; but he believed that orderliness in all the departments of an army was a much better thing, inasmuch as the chances of a successful stroke in war come and go more quickly and the losses occasioned by those who are behindhand in military matters are more serious. He also saw that the advantages gained in war by prompt attention to duty were most important. It was for this reason, therefore, that he took especial pains to secure this sort of orderliness.

8. Accordingly, he himself first took up his position in the middle of the camp in the belief that this situation was the most secure. Then came his most trusty followers, just as he was accustomed to have them about him at home, and next to them in a circle he had his horsemen and charioteers; 9. for those troops also, he thought, need a secure position, because when they are in camp they do not have ready at hand any of the arms with which they fight, but need considerable time to arm, if they are to render effective service.

10. To the right and left from him and the cavalry was the place for the targeteers; before and behind him and the cavalry, the place for the bowmen. 11. The hoplites and those armed with the large shields he arranged around all the rest like a wall, so that those who could best hold their ground might, by being in front of them, make it possible for the cavalry to arm in safety, if it should be necessary.

12. Moreover, he had the peltasts and the bowmen sleep on their arms, like the hoplites, in order that,

* * *

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ὅπως καὶ ἐκ νυκτῶν, εἰ δέοι τι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ὄπλιται παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶ παίειν τὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἴόντα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοξόται καὶ οἱ ἀκοντισταί, εἴ τινες προσίοιεν, ἐξ ἑτοίμου ἀκοντίζοιεν καὶ τοξεύοιεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν.

13. Εἰχον δὲ καὶ σημεῖα πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἱ σώφρονες¹ ἵσασι μὲν καὶ τῶν πλείστων τὰς οἰκήσεις, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἐπικαιρίων; οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τάς τε χώρας τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἡπίσταντο οἱ Κύρου ὑπηρέται καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐγίγνωσκον ἢ ἔκαστοις ἦν ὥστε ὅτου δέοιτο Κύρος, οὐκ ἔχήτουν, ἀλλὰ τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐφ' ἔκαστον ἔθεον. 14. καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῆ ἔκαστα εἶναι τὰ φῦλα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἦν δῆλα καὶ ὅπότε τις εὐτακτοίη καὶ εἴ τις μὴ πράττοι τὸ προσταττόμενον. οὕτω δὴ ἔχόντων ἡγεῖτο, εἴ τις καὶ ἐπίθοιτο νυκτὸς ἡ ἡμέρας, ὥσπερ ἀν εἰς ἐνέδραν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους ἐμπίπτειν.

15. Καὶ τὸ τακτικὸν δὲ εἶναι οὐ τοῦτο μονον ἡγεῖτο εἴ τις ἐκτεῖναι φάλαγγα εὐπόρως δύναιτο ἢ βαθῦναι ἢ ἐκ κέρατος εἰς φάλαγγα καταστῆσαι ἢ ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἢ ἀριστερᾶς ἢ ὅπισθεν ἐπιφανέντων πολεμίων ὁρθῶς ἐξελίξαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διασπάν

¹ [οἱ σώφρονες] Hug.

if there should be occasion to go into action even at night, they might be ready for it. And just as the hoplites were prepared to do battle if any one came within arm's reach of them, so these troops also were to be ready to let fly their lances and arrows over the heads of the hoplites, if any one attacked.

13. And all the officers had banners over their tents ; and just as in the cities well-informed officials know the residences of most of the inhabitants and especially those of the most prominent citizens, so also in camp the aides under Cyrus were acquainted with the location of the various officers and were familiar with the banner of each one ; and so if Cyrus wanted one of his officers, they did not have to search for him but would run to him by the shortest way. 14. And as every division was so well distinguished, it was much more easy to see where good order prevailed and where commands were not being executed. Therefore, as things were arranged, he believed that if any enemy were to attack him either by night or by day, the attacking party would fall into his camp as into an ambuscade.

15. He believed also that tactics did not consist solely in being able easily to extend one's line or increase its depth, or to change it from a long column into a phalanx, or without error to change the front by a counter march according as the enemy came up on the right or the left or behind;¹ but he considered

Cyrus as a
tactician

¹ "We learn from Aelian (*Tact.* 27) that this was either a countermarch by files (*κατὰ σύνα*), in which the wings only changed places, or a countermarch by companies (*κατὰ λόχους* or *στρατούς*) when the whole line turned and the rearguard marched in front, so that there was a change of front as well as of wings. The object of the last-named movement was to put *τὸν καριστόντα* [the best men] forward." (Holden.)

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δόποτε δέοι τακτικὸν ἥγεῖτο, καὶ τὸ τιθέναι γε τὸ μέρος ἔκαστον ὅπου μάλιστα ἐν ὀφελείᾳ ἀν εἴη, καὶ τὸ ταχύνειν δὲ ὅπου φθάσαι δέοι, πάντα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τακτικοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι καὶ ἐπεμέλετο τούτων πάντων ὁμοίως.

16. Καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς πορείαις πρὸς τὸ συμπῖπτον ἀεὶ διατάττων ἐπορεύετο, ἐν δὲ τῇ στρατοπεδεύσει ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὕσπερ εἴρηται κατεχώριζεν.

17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι γέγονονται κατὰ τὴν Μηδικήν, τρέπεται ὁ Κύρος πρὸς Κυαξάρην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσπάσαντο ἄλλιῆλους, πρῶτον μὲν δὴ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε τῷ Κυαξάρῃ ὅτι οἶκος αὐτῷ ἐξηρημένος εἴη ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ ἀρχεῖα, ὅπως ἔχῃ καὶ ὅταν ἐκεῖσε ἔλθῃ εἰς οἰκεῖα κατάγεσθαι· ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δῶρα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ καλά. 18. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ταῦτα μὲν ἐδέχετο, προσέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα στέφανόν τε χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια φέρουσαν καὶ στρεπτὸν καὶ στολὴν Μηδικήν ὡς δυνατὸν καλλίστην. 19. καὶ ἡ μὲν δὴ παῖς ἐστεφάνου τὸν Κύρον, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης εἶπε, Δίδωμι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρε, καὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην γυναικα, ἐμὴν οὖσαν θυγατέρα· καὶ ὁ σὸς δὲ πατήρ ἔγημε τὴν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἣς σὺ ἐγένου· αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἣν σὺ πολλάκις παῖς ὁν ὅτε παρ' ἡμῖν ἦσθα ἐτιθηνῆσω· καὶ ὅπότε τις ἐρωτῷ αὐτὴν τίνι γαμοῦτο, ἐλεγεν ὅτι Κύρῳ· ἐπιδίδωμι δὲ αὐτῇ ἐγὼ καὶ φερνὴν Μηδίαν τὴν πᾶσαν οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι μοι ἄρρην παῖς γνήσιος.

20. Ὁ μὲν οὗτος εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀπεκρίνατο,

it also a part of good tactics to break up one's army into several divisions whenever occasion demanded, and to place each division, too, where it would do the most good, and to make speed when it was necessary to reach a place before the enemy—all these and other such qualifications were essential, he believed, to a skilful tactician, and he devoted himself to them all alike.

16. And so on his marches he always proceeded giving out his orders with a view to existing circumstances ; but in camp his arrangements were made, for the most part, as has been described.

17. As they continued their march and came near to Media, Cyrus turned aside to visit Cyaxares. And when they had exchanged greetings, the first thing Cyrus told Cyaxares was that a palace had been selected for him in Babylon, and official headquarters, so that he might occupy a residence of his own whenever he came there ; and then he also gave him many splendid presents. 18. Cyaxares accepted them and then introduced to him his daughter, who brought him a golden crown and bracelets and a necklace and the most beautiful Median robe that could be found. 19. As the princess placed the crown on Cyrus's head, Cyaxares said, " And the maiden herself, my own daughter, I offer you as well, Cyrus, to be your wife. Your father married my father's daughter, whose son you are. This is she whom you used often to pet when you came to visit us when you were a boy. And whenever anybody asked her whom she was going to marry, she would say ' Cyrus.' And with her I offer you all Media as a dowry, for I have no legitimate male issue."

20. Thus he spoke, and Cyrus answered : " Well,

Cyrus visits
his uncle

Cyaxares
offers him
his
daughter's
hand and
all Media

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'Αλλ', ὁ Κυαξάρη, τό τε γένος ἐπαινῶ καὶ τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὰ δῶρα· βούλομαι δέ, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γυνώμῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς μητρὸς ταῦτα σοι συναινέσαι.

Εἰπε μὲν οὖν οὗτος ὁ Κῦρος, ὅμως δὲ τῇ παιδὶ πάντα ἐδωρήσατο ὅπόσα φέτο καὶ τῷ Κυαξάρῃ χαριεῖσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας εἰς Πέρσας ἐπορεύετο.

21. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Περσῶν ὄροις ἐγένετο πορευόμενος, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπορεύετο, Ἱερεῖα μὲν ἄγων ὡς πᾶσι Πέρσαις ἵκανὰ θύειν τε καὶ ἐστιάσθαι· δῶρα δὲ ἥγεν οὐα μὲν ἐπρεπε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, οὐα δὲ ἐπρεπεν ἀρχαῖς καὶ γεραιτέροις καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις πᾶσιν· ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πᾶσι Πέρσαις καὶ Περσίσιν ὅσα περ καὶ νῦν ἔτι δίδωσιν δτανπερ ἀφίκηται βασιλεὺς εἰς Πέρσας.

22. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνέλεξε Καμβύσης τοὺς γεραιτέρους Περσῶν καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, οἵπερ τῶν μεγίστων κύριοι εἰσι· παρεκάλεσε δὲ καὶ Κῦρον, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Ανδρες Πέρσαι καὶ σύ, ὁ Κῦρε, ἐγὼ ἀμφοτέροις ὑμῖν εἰκότως εὔνους εἰμί· ὑμῶν μὲν γὰρ βασιλεύω, σὺ δέ, ὁ Κῦρε, παῖς ἐμὸς εἰς δίκαιος οὖν είμι, ὅσα γυγνώσκειν δοκῶ ἀγαθὰ ἀμφοτέροις, ταῦτα εἰς τὸ μέσον λέγειν.

23. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρελθόντα ὑμεῖς μὲν Κῦρον ηὔξήσατε στράτευμα δόντες καὶ ἀρχοντα τούτου αὐτὸν καταστήσαντες, Κῦρος δὲ ἥγούμενος τούτου σὺν θεοῖς εὐκλεεῖς μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὁ Πέρσαι, ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησεν, ἐντίμους δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ

Cyaxares, I heartily approve of your family and your daughter and your gifts. And I desire, with the approval of my father and mother, to accept your offer."

Thus Cyrus answered ; but still he made the young lady presents of everything that he thought would please Cyaxares as well as herself. And when he had done so, he proceeded on his way to Persia.

21. And when, as he continued his journey, he came to the boundaries of Persia, he left the main body of his army there, while he went on with his friends to the capital ; and he took along animals enough for all the Persians to sacrifice and make a feast, and brought with him such gifts as were appropriate for his father and mother and his friends besides and such as were suitable for the authorities and the elders and all the peers. And he gave presents also to all the Persians, men and women, such as even to this day the great king bestows whenever he comes to Persia.

22. Then Cambyses assembled the Persian elders and the highest of the chief magistrates ; he called in Cyrus also and then addressed them as follows : "Toward you, my Persian friends, I cherish, as is natural, feelings of good-will, for I am your king ; and no less toward you, Cyrus, for you are my son. It is right, therefore, that I should declare frankly to you what I think I recognize to be for the good of both.

23. "In the past you advanced the fortunes of Cyrus by giving him an army and placing him in command of it. And at its head Cyrus has with the help of the gods given you, Persians, a good report among all men and made you honoured throughout

Cyrus arrives in Persepolis

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πάσην τῶν δὲ συστρατευσαμένων αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους καὶ πεπλούτικε, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς μισθὸν καὶ τροφὴν παρεσκεύακεν ἵππικὸν δὲ καταστήσας Περσῶν πεποίηκε Πέρσαις καὶ πεδίων εἶναι μετουσίαν.

24. Ἡν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω γιγνώσκητε, πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι ἀλλήλοις ἔσεσθε· εἰ δὲ οὐ σύ, ὁ Κῦρε, ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς παρούσαις τύχαις ἐπιχειρήσεις καὶ Περσῶν ἀρχειν ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων, οὐ νμεῖς, ὁ πολῖται, φθονήσαντες τούτῳ τῆς δυνάμεως καταλύειν πειράσεσθε τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς, εὐ̄ ἵστε ὅτι ἐμποδὼν ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔσεσθε.
25. ὡς οὖν μὴ ταῦτα γίγνηται, ἀλλὰ τάγαθά, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, θύσαντας ὑμᾶς κοινῇ καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυραμένους συνθέσθαι, σὲ μέν, ὁ Κῦρε, οὗ τις ἐπιστρατεύηται χώρᾳ Περσίδι η Περσῶν νόμους διασπάν πειρᾶται, βοηθήσειν παντὶ σθένει, ὑμᾶς δέ, ὁ Πέρσαι, οὗ τις η ἀρχῆς Κύρου ἐπιχειρῇ καταπαύειν η ἀφίστασθαι τις τῶν ὑποχειρίων, βοηθήσειν καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ Κύρῳ καθ' οὐ τι ἀν οὔτος ἐπαγγέλλῃ.

26. Καὶ ἔως μὲν ἀν ἔγῳ ζῷ, ἐμὴ γίγνεται η ἐν Πέρσαις βασιλείᾳ· ὅταν δὲ ἔγῳ τελευτήσω, δῆλον ὅτι Κύρου, ἐὰν ζῇ· καὶ ὅταν μὲν οὔτος ἀφίκηται εἰς Πέρσας, ὁσίως ἀν ὑμῖν ἔχοι τοῦτον θύειν τὰ ἴερὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἅπερ νῦν ἔγῳ θύω· ὅταν δὲ οὔτος ἔκδημος η, καλῶς ἀν οἷμαι ὑμῖν ἔχειν εἰ ἐκ τοῦ

all Asia. Of those who went with him on his campaigns he has enriched the most deserving and to the commoners he has given wages and support; and by establishing a Persian cavalry force he has made the Persians masters also of the plains.

24. "If, therefore, you continue to be of the same mind also in the future, you will be the cause of much good to each other. But, Cyrus, if you on your part become puffed up by your present successes and attempt to govern the Persians as you do those other nations, with a view to self-aggrandizement, or if you, fellow-citizens, become jealous of his power and attempt to depose him from his sovereignty, be sure that you will hinder one another from receiving much good. 25. And that this may not befall you, but the good, it seems best to me for you to perform a common sacrifice and to make a covenant, first calling the gods to witness. You, Cyrus, on your part, must covenant that if any one sets hostile foot in Persia or attempts to subvert the Persian constitution, you will come to her aid with all your strength; and you, Persians, on your part, are to covenant that if any one attempts to put an end to Cyrus's sovereignty or if any one of his subjects attempts to revolt, you will come to your own rescue as well as Cyrus's in whatsoever way he may call upon you.

26. "As long as I live, the Persian throne continues to be mine own. But when I am dead, it will, of course, pass to Cyrus if he survives me. And as often as he comes to Persia, it should be a sacred custom with you that he sacrifice on your behalf even as I do now. And when he is away, it might be well for you, I think, that that one of our family who seems

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γένους ὃς ἀν δοκῆ ὑμῖν ἄριστος εἶναι, οὗτος τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελοίη.

27. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος Καμβύσου συνέδοξε Κύρω τε καὶ τοῖς Περσῶν τέλεσι· καὶ συνθέμενοι ταῦτα τότε καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυράμενοι οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένουσι ποιοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους Πέρσαι τε καὶ βασιλεύς. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπήιε ὁ Κῦρος.

28. 'Ως δ' ἀπιὼν ἐγένετο ἐν Μῆδοις, συνδόξαν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ γαμεῖ τὴν Κυαξάρου θυγατέρα, ἣς ἔτι καὶ νῦν λόγος ὡς παγκάλης γενομένης. [ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λογοποιῶν λέγουσιν ὡς τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφὴν ἔγημεν· ἀλλὰ γραῦς ἀν καὶ παντάπασιν ἦν ἡ παῖς.]¹ γῆμας δ' εὐθὺς ἔχων ἀνεξεύγνυεν.²

VI

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Βαθυλῶνι ἦν, ἐδόκει αὐτῷ σατράπας ἥδη πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ κατεστραμμένα ἔθνη. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις φρουράρχους καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυλακῶν οὐκ ἄλλους ἢ ἑαυτοῦ ἐβούλετο ἀκούειν ταῦτα δὲ προεωράτο ἐννοῶν ὅπως εἴ τις τῶν σατραπῶν ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων ἔξυβρίσειε καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειε μὴ πείθεσθαι, εὐθὺς ἀντιπάλους ἔχοι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. 2. ταῦτ' οὖν βουλόμενος πρᾶξαι ἔγνω συγκαλέσαι πρῶτον τοὺς ἐπικαι-

¹ ἔνιοι . . . παῖς MSS.; omitted by Dindorf, Edd.

² ἀνεξεύγνυεν MSS., most Edd.; ἀνεξεύγνυ Hug.

to you the most worthy should perform that sacred office."

27. When Cambyses had finished speaking, Cyrus and the Persian magistrates accepted his proposal. And as they then covenanted, with the gods as their witnesses, so the Persians and their king still continue to this day to act toward one another. And when this had all been completed, Cyrus took his departure.

28. When, on his way back, he came to Media, Cyrus wedded the daughter of Cyaxares, for he had obtained the consent of his father and mother. And to this day people still tell of her wonderful beauty. [But some historians say that he married his mother's sister. But that maid must certainly have been a very old maid.] And when he was married he at once departed with his bride for Babylon.

Cyrus
marries his
cousin

VI

1. WHEN he arrived in Babylon, he decided to send out satraps to govern the nations he had subdued. But the commanders of the garrisons in the citadels and the colonels in command of the guards throughout the country he wished to be responsible to no one but himself. This provision he made with the purpose that if any of the satraps, on the strength of the wealth or the men at their command, should break out into open insolence or attempt to refuse obedience, they might at once find opposition in their province. 2. In the wish, therefore, to secure this result, he resolved first to call together his

Cyrus
institutes
satrapies

ρίους καὶ προειπεῖν, ὅπως εἰδεῖεν ἐφ' οἷς ἵστιν
ἴνυτες· ἐνόμιζε γὰρ οὕτω ῥῆμαν φέρειν ἀν αὐτούς·
ἐπεὶ δὲ κατασταίη τις ἄρχων καὶ αἰσθάνοιτο
ταῦτα, χαλεπῶς ἀν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ φέρειν, νομίζον-
τες δι' ἑαυτῶν ἀπιστίαν ταῦτα γενέσθαι. 3. οὕτω
δὴ συλλέξας λέγει αὐτοῖς τοιάδε·

"Ἄνδρες φίλοι, εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς κατεστραμ-
μέναις πόλεσι φρουροὶ καὶ φρούραρχοι, οὓς τότε
κατελίπομεν· καὶ τούτοις ἐγὼ προστάξας ἀπῆλ-
θον ἄλλο μὲν μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὰ δὲ τειχη
διασώζειν. τούτους μὲν οὖν οὐ παύσω τῆς ἄρχῆς,
ἐπεὶ καλῶς διαπεφυλάχασι τὰ προσταχθέντα·
ἄλλους δὲ σατράπας πέμψαι μοι δοκεῖ, οἵτινες
ἄρξουσι τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ τὸν δασμὸν λαμβά-
νοντες τοῖς τε φρουροῖς δώσουσι μισθὸν καὶ ἄλλο
τελοῦσιν ὃ τι ἀν δέη. 4. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τῶν
ἐνθάδε μενόντων ὑμῶν, οἷς ἀν ἐγὼ πράγματα
παρέχω πέμπων πράξοντάς τι ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη,
χώρας γενέσθαι καὶ οἴκους ἐκεῖ, ὅπως δασμοφορή-
ται τε αὐτοῖς δεῦρο, ὅταν τε ἵστιν ἐκεῖσε, εἰς
οἰκεῖα ἔχωσι κατάγεσθαι. "

5. Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἔδωκε πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων
κατὰ πάσας τὰς καταστραφείσας πόλεις οἴκους
καὶ ὑπηκόους· καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν ἔτι τοῖς ἀπογόνοις
τῶν τότε λαβόντων αἱ χώραι καταμένουσαι ἄλλαι
ἐν ἄλλῃ γῇ· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἴκουσι παρὰ βασιλεῖ.

chief officers and inform them in advance, so that when they went they might know on what understanding they were going; for he believed that if he did so, they would take it more kindly; whereas he thought that they might take it ill, if any of them discovered the conditions after being installed as satraps, for then they would think that this policy had been adopted from distrust of them personally. 3. And so he called them together and spoke as follows:

" My friends, we have in the subjugated states garrisons with their officers, whom we left behind there at the time; and when I came away I left them with orders not to trouble themselves with any business other than to hold the forts. These, therefore, I will not remove from their positions, for they have carried out my instructions faithfully; but I have decided to send satraps there, besides, to govern the people, receive the tribute, pay the militia, and attend to any other business that needs attention. 4. I have further decided that any of you who remain here, and to whom I may occasionally give the trouble of going on business for me to those nations, shall have lands and houses there; so that they may have tribute paid to them here and, whenever they go there, they may lodge in residences of their own."

The duties
and privi-
leges of
satraps

5. Thus he spoke, and to many of his friends he gave houses and servants in the various states which he had subdued. And even to this day those properties, some in one land, some in another, continue in the possession of the descendants of those who then received them, while the owners themselves reside at court.

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6. Δεῖ δέ, ἔφη, τοὺς ἵόντας σατράπας ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς χώρας τοιούτους ἡμᾶς σκοπεῦν οἵτινες ὅτι ἀν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκάστῃ καλὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἦ, μεμυήσονται καὶ δεῦρο ἀποπέμπειν, ώς μετέχωμεν καὶ οἱ ἐνθάδε δυτες τῶν πανταχοῦ γυγνομένων ἀγαθῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τί που δεινὸν γίγνηται, ἡμὲν ἔσται ἀμυντέον.

7. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τότε μὲν ἔπαισε τὸν λόγον, ἔπειτα δὲ οὖς ἐγγίγνωσκε τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἴέναι, ἐκλεξάμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἐπιτηδειοτάτους εἶναι ἔπειμπε σατράπας εἰς Ἀραβίαν μὲν Μεγάβυζον, εἰς Καππαδοκίαν δὲ Ἀρταβάταν, εἰς Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν μεγάλην Ἀρτακάμαν, εἰς Λυδίαν δὲ καὶ Ἰωνίαν Χρυσάνταν, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ Ἀδούσιον, ὅπερ ἥτοῦντο, εἰς Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν παρ' Ἐλλήσποντον καὶ Αἰολίδα Φαρνοῦχον. 8. Κιλικίας δὲ καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Παφλαγόνων οὐκ ἔπειμψε Πέρσας σατράπας, ὅτι ἐκόντες ἐδόκουν συστρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα· δασμοὺς μέντοι συνέταξεν ἀποφέρειν καὶ τούτους.

9. Ὡς δὲ τότε Κῦρος κατεστήσατο, οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλέως εἰσὶν αἱ ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις φυλακαὶ καὶ οἱ χιλίαρχοι τῶν φυλακῶν ἐκ βασιλέως εἰσὶ καθεστηκότες καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἀπογεγραμμένοι.

10. Προεῖπε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις σατράπαις, ὅσα αὐτὸν ἔώρων ποιοῦντα, πάντα μιμεῖσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν ἵππέας καθιστάναι ἐκ τῶν συνεπισπομένων Περσῶν καὶ συμμάχων καὶ

CYROPAEDIA, VIII. vi. 6-10

6. "And then," Cyrus resumed, "we must take care that those who go as satraps to such countries shall be men of the right sort, who will bear in mind to send back here what there is good and desirable in their several provinces, in order that we also who remain here may have a share of the good things that are to be found everywhere. And that will be no more than fair; for if any danger threatens anywhere, it is we who shall have to ward it off."

7. With these words he concluded his address on that occasion; and then he chose out from the number of his friends those whom he saw eager to go on the conditions named and who seemed to him best qualified, and sent them as satraps to the following countries: Megabyzus to Arabia, Artabatas to Cappadocia, Artacamas to Phrygia Major, Chrysantas to Lydia and Ionia, Adusius to Caria (it was he for whom the Carians had petitioned), and Pharnuchus to Aeolia and Phrygia on the Hellespont. 8. He sent out no Persians as satraps over Cilicia or Cyprus or Paphlagonia, because these he thought joined his expedition against Babylon voluntarily; he did, however, require even these nations to pay tribute.

9. As Cyrus then organized the service, so is it even to this day: the garrisons upon the citadels are immediately under the king's control, and the colonels in command of the garrisons receive their appointment from the king and are enrolled upon the king's list.

10. And he gave orders to all the satraps he sent out to imitate him in everything that they saw him do: they were, in the first place, to organize companies of cavalry and charioteers from the Persians

Cyrus appoints the satraps

Further duties of satraps

άρματηλάτας· ὅπόσοι δ' ἀν γῆν καὶ ἀρχεῖα λάβωσιν, ἀναγκάζειν τούτους ἐπὶ θύρας λέναι καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐπιμελομένους παρέχειν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ σατράπῃ χρῆσθαι, ἦν τι δέηται· παιδεύειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς γυγνομένους παιδας ἐπὶ θύραις,¹ ὡσπερ παρ' αὐτῷ· ἔξαγειν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Θήραν τὸν σατράπην τοὺς ἀπὸ θυρῶν καὶ ἀσκεῖν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἑαυτῷ τὰ πολεμικά.

11. Ὡς δ' ἀν ἐμοί, ἔφη, κατὰ λόγου τῆς δυνάμεως πλεῖστα μὲν ἄρματα, πλείστους δὲ καὶ ἀρίστους ἵππεας ἀποδεικνύη, τοῦτον ἐγὼ ὡς ἀγαθὸν σύμμαχον καὶ ὡς ἀγαθὸν συμφύλακα Πέρσαις τε καὶ ἐμοὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τιμῆσω. ἔστων δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ ἔδραις² ὡσπερ παρ' ἐμοὶ οἱ ἄριστοι προτετιμημένοι, καὶ τράπεζα, ὡσπερ ἡ ἐμή, τρέφουσα μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ὡς φίλοις μεταδιδόναι ἰκανῶς κεκοσμημένη καὶ ὡς τὸν καλόν τι ποιοῦντα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιγεραίρειν.

12. Κτᾶσθε δὲ καὶ παραδείσους καὶ θηρία τρέφετε, καὶ μήτε αὐτοί ποτε ἀνευ πόνου σῖτον παραθῆσθε μήτε ἵπποις ἀγυμνάστοις χόρτον ἐμβάλλετε· οὐ γὰρ ἀν δυναίμην ἐγὼ εἰς ὃν ἀνθρωπίνη ἀρετῇ τὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰ διασώζειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἐμὲ μὲν ἀγαθὸν δύτα σὺν ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἐπίκουρον εἶναι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁμοίως αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοὺς δύτας σὺν ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ συμμάχους εἶναι.

13. Βουλούμην δ' ἀν ὑμᾶς καὶ τοῦτο κατανοήσαι δτι τούτων ὡν νῦν ὑμῖν παρακελεύομαι οὐδὲν τοῖς

¹ θύραις Reiske, Edd.; θύρας MSS.

² ἔδραις Stephanus, Edd.; ἔδρας MSS.

who went with them and from the allies ; to require as many as received lands and palaces to attend at the satrap's court and exercising proper self-restraint to put themselves at his disposal in whatever he demanded ; to have the boys that were born to them educated at the local court, just as was done at the royal court ; and to take the retinue at his gates out hunting and to exercise himself and them in the arts of war.

11. "And whoever I find has the largest number of chariots to show and the largest number of the most efficient horsemen in proportion to his power," Cyrus added, "him will I honour as a valuable ally and as a valuable fellow-protector of the sovereignty of the Persians and myself. And with you also, just as with me, let the most deserving be set in the most honourable seats ; and let your table, like mine, feed first your own household and then, too, be bountifully arrayed so as to give a share to your friends and to confer some distinction day by day upon any one who does some noble act.

12. "Have parks, too, and keep wild animals in them ; and do not have your food served you unless you have first taken exercise, nor have fodder given to your horses unless they have been exercised. For I should not be able with merely human strength single-handed to ensure the permanence of the fortunes of all of you ; but as I must be valiant and have those about me valiant, in order to help you ; so you likewise must be valiant yourselves and have those about you valiant, in order to be my allies.

13. "Please observe also that among all the directions I am now giving you, I give no orders to

He gives
them
instructions

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δούλους προστάττω. ἀ δ' ὑμᾶς φημι χρῆναι ποιεῦν, ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς πειρῶμαι πάντα πράττειν. ὥσπερ δὲ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς κελεύω ἐμὲ μιμεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας μιμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκετε.

14. [Ταῦτα δὲ Κύρου οὕτω τότε τάξαντος ἦτι καὶ νῦν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ φυλακαὶ ὁμοίως φυλάττονται, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων θύραι ὁμοίως θεραπεύονται, πάντες δὲ οἱ οἰκοι καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ ὁμοίως οἰκοῦνται, πᾶσι δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν παρόντων ἔδραις προτετίμηνται, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ πορεῖαι συντεταγμέναι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἰσί, πᾶσαι δὲ συγκεφαλαιοῦνται πολιτικαὶ¹ πράξεις εἰς δλίγους ἐπιστάτας.]²

15. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὡς χρὴ ποιεῦν ἐκάστους καὶ δύναμιν ἐκάστῳ προσθεὶς ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ προεῦπεν ἅπασι παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς νέωτα στρατείας ἐσομένης καὶ ἀποδείξεως ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ὑππων καὶ ἀρμάτων.

16. Κατενοήσαμεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι Κύρου κατάρξαντος, ὡς φασι, καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένει· ἐφοδεύει γάρ ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀεὶ στράτευμα ἔχων, ὡς ἦν μέν τις τῶν σατραπῶν ἐπικουρίας δέηται, ἐπικουρῆ, ἦν δέ τις ὑβρίζη, σωφρονίζη, ἦν δέ τις ἡ δασμῶν φορᾶς ἀμελῆ ἡ τῶν ἐνοίκων φυλακῆς ἡ ὅπως ἡ χώρα ἐνεργὸς ἢ ἡ ἄλλο τι τῶν τεταγμένων παραλίπη, ταῦτα πάντα κατευ-

¹ πολιτικαὶ Eichler, recent Edd.; πολλαὶ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

² ταῦτα . . . ἐπιστάτας MSS., most Edd.; bracketed by Lincke, Hug.

slaves. I try to do myself everything that I say you ought to do. And even as I bid you follow my example, so do you also instruct those whom you appoint to office to follow yours."

14. [And as Cyrus then effected his organization, even so unto this day all the garrisons under the king are kept up, and all the courts of the governors are attended with service in the same way; so all households, great and small, are managed; and by all men in authority the most deserving of their guests are given preference with seats of honour; all the official journeyings are conducted on the same plan and all the political business is centralized in a few heads of departments.]

15. When he had told them how they should proceed to carry out his instructions, he gave each one a force of soldiers and sent them off; and he directed them all to make preparations, with the expectation that there would be an expedition the next year and a review of the men, arms, horses, and chariots.

16. We have noticed also that this regulation is still in force, whether it was instituted by Cyrus, as they affirm, or not: year by year a man makes the circuit of the provinces with an army, to help any satrap that may need help, to humble any one that may be growing rebellious, and to adjust matters if any one is careless about seeing the taxes paid or protecting the inhabitants, or to see that the land is kept under cultivation, or if any one is neglectful of anything else that he has been ordered to attend to; but if he cannot set it right, it is his business to

Plans
adopted for
the visita-
tion of the
provinces

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τρεπίζῃ· ἦν δὲ μὴ δύνηται, βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλῃ· ὁ δὲ ἀκούων βουλεύεται περὶ τοῦ ἀτακτοῦντος· καὶ οἱ πολλάκις λεγόμενοι ὅτι βασιλέως υἱὸς καταβαίνει, βασιλέως ἀδελφός, βασιλέως ὄφθαλμός, καὶ ἐνίστητε οὐκ ἐκφαινόμενοι, οὗτοι τῶν ἐφόδων εἰσὶν· ἀποτρέπεται γὰρ ἔκαστος αὐτῶν ὅπόθεν ἀν βασιλεὺς κελεύῃ.

17. Κατεμάθομεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλο μηχάνημα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐξ οὐ ταχέως ἡσθάνετο καὶ τὰ πάμπολυ ἀπέχοντα ὅπως ἔχοι. σκεψάμενος γὰρ πόσην ἀν ὁδὸν ἵππος κατανύτοι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλαυνόμενος ὥστε διαρκεῖν, ἐποιήσατο ἵππωνας τοσοῦτον διαλείποντας καὶ ἵππους ἐν αὐτοῖς κατέστησε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους τούτων, καὶ ἄνδρα ἐφ' ἔκαστῳ τῶν τόπων ἔταξε τὸν ἐπιτήδειον παραδέχεσθαι τὰ φερόμενα γράμματα καὶ παραδιδόναι καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς ἀπειρηκότας ἵππους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἄλλους πέμπειν νεαλεῖς. 18. ἔστι δ' ὅτε οὐδὲ τὰς νύκτας φασὶν ἴστασθαι ταύτην τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡμερινῷ ἀγγέλῳ τὸν νυκτερινὸν διαδέχεσθαι. τούτων δὲ οὕτω γυγνομένων φασί τινες θάττουν τῶν γεράνων ταύτην τὴν πορείαν ἀνύτειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ψεύδονται, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πεζῇ πορειῶν αὕτη ταχίστη, τοῦτο εὔδηλον. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ὡς τάχιστα ἔκαστον αἰσθανόμενον ὡς τάχιστα ἐπιμέλεσθαι.

19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῆλθεν ὁ ἐνιαυτός, συνήγειρε στρατιὰν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ λέγεται αὐτῷ γενέσθαι εἰς δώδεκα μὲν ἵππεων μυριάδας, εἰς δισχίλια

report it to the king, and he, when he hears of it, takes measures in regard to the offender. And those of whom the report often goes out that "the king's son is coming," or "the king's brother" or "the king's eye," these belong to the circuit commissioners; though sometimes they do not put in an appearance at all, for each of them turns back, wherever he may be, when the king commands.

17. We have observed still another device of Cyrus to cope with the magnitude of his empire; by means of this institution he would speedily discover the condition of affairs, no matter how far distant they might be from him: he experimented to find out how great a distance a horse could cover in a day when ridden hard but so as not to break down, and then he erected post-stations at just such distances and equipped them with horses and men to take care of them; at each one of the stations he had the proper official appointed to receive the letters that were delivered and to forward them on, to take in the exhausted horses and riders and send on fresh ones. 18. They say, moreover, that sometimes this express does not stop all night, but the night-messengers succeed the day-messengers in relays, and when that is the case, this express, some say, gets over the ground faster than the cranes. If their story is not literally true, it is at all events undeniable that this is the fastest overland travelling on earth; and it is a fine thing to have immediate intelligence of everything, in order to attend to it as quickly as possible.

19. Now, when the year had gone round, he collected his army together at Babylon, containing, it is said, about one hundred and twenty thousand

Cyrus
inaugurates
a postal
system

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δὲ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα, πεζῶν δὲ εἰς μυριάδας ἔξηκοντα. 20. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνεσκεύαστο αὐτῷ, ὥρμα δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἐν ᾧ λέγεται καταστρέψασθαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅσα Συρίαν ἐκβάντι οἴκει μέχρι Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατεία λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ καταστρέψασθαι Αἴγυπτον.

21. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὤριζεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἔω μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὰ θάλαττα, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ ὁ Εὔξεινος πόντος, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ Κύπρος καὶ Αἴγυπτος, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἰθιοπία. τούτων δὲ τὰ πέρατα τὰ μὲν διὰ θάλπος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ψῦχος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ὕδωρ, τὰ δὲ δι᾽ ἀνυδρίαν δυσοίκητα. 22. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τὴν δίαιταν ποιησάμενος, τὸν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν χειμῶνα χρόνον διῆγεν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπτὰ μῆνας· αὗτη γὰρ ἀλεεινὴ ἡ χώρα· τὸν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἔαρ τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν Σούσοις· τὴν δὴ ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους δύο μῆνας ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις· οὕτω δὴ ποιοῦντ' αὐτὸν λέγοντιν ἐν ἔαρινθῳ θάλπει καὶ ψύχει διάγειν ἀεί.

23. Οὕτω δὲ διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡς πᾶν μὲν ἔθνος μειονεκτεῖν ἐδόκει, εἰ μὴ Κύρω πέμψειεν δὲ τι καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡ φύοιτο ἡ τρέφοιτο ἡ τεχνῷτο, πᾶσα δὲ πόλις ὠσαύτως, πᾶς δὲ ἴδιώτης πλούσιος ἀν φέτο γενέσθαι, εἰ τι Κύρω χαρίσαιτο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύρος λαμβάνων παρ' ἐκάστων ὡν ἀφθονίαν ἔλχον οἱ διδόντες ἀντεδίδουν ὡν σπανίζοντας αὐτοὺς αἰσθάνοιτο.

horse, about two thousand scythe-bearing chariots and about six hundred thousand foot. 20. And when these had been made ready for him, he started out on that expedition on which he is said to have subjugated all the nations that fill the earth from where one leaves Syria even to the Indian Ocean. His next expedition is said to have gone to Egypt and to have subjugated that country also.

21. From that time on his empire was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, and on the south by Ethiopia. The extremes of his empire are uninhabitable, on the one side because of the heat; on another because of the cold, on another because of too much water, and on the fourth because of too little. 22. Cyrus himself made his home in the centre of his domain, and in the winter season he spent seven months in Babylon, for there the climate is warm; in the spring he spent three months in Susa, and in the height of summer two months in Ecbatana. By so doing, they say, he enjoyed the warmth and coolness of perpetual spring-time.

23. People, moreover, were so devoted to him that those of every nation thought they did themselves an injury if they did not send to Cyrus the most valuable productions of their country, whether the fruits of the earth, or animals bred there, or manufactures of their own arts; and every city did the same. And every private individual thought he should become a rich man if he should do something to please Cyrus. And his theory was correct; for Cyrus would always accept that of which the givers had an abundance, and he would give in return that of which he saw that they were in want.

*He locates
his resi-
dence*

*His personal
popularity*

VII

1. Οὗτω δὲ τοῦ αἰῶνος προκεχωρηκότος, μάλα δὴ πρεσβύτης ὁν ὁ Κῦρος ἀφικνέεται εἰς Πέρσας τὸ ἔβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ¹ ἀρχῆς. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ πάλαι δὴ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐτελευτήκεσαν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔθυσε τὰ νομιζόμενα Ἱερὰ καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ ἡγήσατο Πέρσαις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὰ δῶρα πᾶσι διέδωκεν ὥσπερ εἴώθει.

2. Κοιμηθεὶς δὲ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ δῖναρ εἶδε τοιόνδε· ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ προσελθὼν κρείττων τις ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον εἰπεῖν, Συσκευάζου, ὁ Κῦρε· ἵδη γάρ εἰς θεοὺς ἅπει. τοῦτο δὲ ἴδων τὸ δῖναρ ἐξηγέρθη καὶ σχεδὸν ἔδόκει εἰδέναι ὅτι τοῦ βίου ἡ τελευτὴ παρείη. 3. εὐθὺς οὖν λαβὼν Ἱερεῖα ἔθυε Διό τε πατρῷ φιλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς Πέρσαι θύουσιν, ὡδε ἐπευχόμενος, Ζεῦ πατρῷ φιλίᾳ καὶ πάντες θεοί, δέχεσθε τάδε καὶ τελεστήρια πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πράξεων καὶ χαριστήρια ὅτι ἐσημαίνετέ² μοι καὶ ἐν Ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις σημείοις καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν φήμαις ἃ τ' ἔχρην ποιεῖν καὶ ἂ οὐκ ἔχρην. πολλὴ δὲ ὑμῶν χάρις ὅτι κάγῳ ἐγίνην ωσκον τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἐπὶ ταῦς εὐτυχίαis ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐφρόνησα. αἰτοῦμαι δὲ ὑμᾶς δοῦναι καὶ νῦν παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πατρίδι εὐδαι-

¹ αὐτοῦ Edd.; αὐτοῦ MSS.

² ἐσημαίνετε γ, Hug, Marchant; ἐσημήνατε χχ, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Gemoll.

VII

1. WHEN his life was far spent amid such achievements and Cyrus was now a very old man, he came back for the seventh time in his reign to Persia. His father and his mother were in the course of nature long since dead; so Cyrus performed the customary sacrifice and led the Persians in their national dance and distributed presents among them all, as had been his custom.

2. As he slept in the palace, he saw a vision: a figure of more than human majesty appeared to him in a dream and said: "Make ready,¹ Cyrus; for thou shalt soon depart to the gods." When the vision was past, he awoke and seemed almost to know that the end of his life was at hand. 3. Accordingly, he at once took victims and offered sacrifice in the high places to ancestral Zeus, to Helius, and to the rest of the gods, even as the Persians are wont to make sacrifice; and as he sacrificed, he prayed, saying: "O ancestral Zeus and Helius and all the gods, accept these offerings as tokens of gratitude for help in achieving many glorious enterprises; for in omens in the sacrifice, in signs from heaven, in the flight of birds, and in ominous words, ye ever showed me what I ought to do and what I ought not to do. And I render heartfelt thanks to you that I have never failed to recognize your fostering care and never in my successes entertained proud thoughts transcending human bounds. And I beseech of you that ye will now also grant prosperity and happiness to my children, my wife, my friends, and my country,

¹ Literally "Be packing up"; cf. Varro, *de R.R.* I. 1: annus octogesimus admonet me ut sarcinas colligam antequam proficiscar e vita.

μονίαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ οἰόνπερ αἰῶνα δεδώκατε, τοιαύτην
καὶ τελευτὴν δοῦναι.

4. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ποιήσας καὶ οἴκαδε ἐλθὼν
ἔδοξεν ἡδέως ἀναπαύσεσθαι¹ καὶ κατεκλίνη.²
ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρα ἦν, οἱ τεταγμένοι προσιόντες λού-
σασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευνον. ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν δὴτι ἡδέως
ἀναπαύοιτο. οἱ δὲ αὖ τεταγμένοι, ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν,
δεῖπνον παρετίθεσαν τῷ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σῖτον μὲν οὐ
προσίετο, διψῆν δὲ ἔδόκει, καὶ ἐπιειν ἡδέως.

5. Ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ
ταῦτα³ καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς παῖδας· οἱ δὲ
ἔτυχον συνηκολουθηκότες αὐτῷ καὶ ὅντες ἐν Πέρ-
σαις ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὰς Περσῶν
ἀρχάς παρόντων δὲ πάντων ἤρχετο τοιοῦδε
λόγους.

6. Παῖδες ἐμοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες φίλοι,
ἐμοὶ μὲν τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ἥδη πάρεστιν ἐκ πολ-
λῶν τοῦτο σαφῶς γνηγώσκω. ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή, ὅταν
τελευτήσω, ώς περὶ εὐδαίμονος ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγειν
καὶ ποιεῖν πάντα. ἐγὼ γὰρ παῖς τε ὧν τὰ ἐν
παισὶ νομιζόμενα καλὰ δοκῶ κεκαρπώσθαι, ἐπεὶ
τε ἥβησα, τὰ ἐν νεανίσκοις, τέλειός τε ἀνὴρ γενό-
μενος τὰ ἐν ἀνδράσι· σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ τε προϊόντι
ἀεὶ συναυξανομένην ἐπιγνηγώσκειν ἔδόκουν καὶ
τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν, ὅστε καὶ τούμὸν γῆρας οὐδεπώ-
ποτε ἥσθομην τῆς ἐμῆς νεότητος ἀσθενέστερον
γνηγόμενον, καὶ οὕτ' ἐπιχειρήσας οὕτ' ἐπιθυμήσας
οἶδα ὅτου ἥτύχησα.

¹ ἀναπαύσεσθαι Stephanus, most Edd.; ἀναπαύσασθαι xzV, Hug, Breitenbach; ἀναπαύεσθαι y.

² κατεκλίνη Cobet, most Edd.; κατεκλίθη MSS., Breitenbach.

³ ταῦτα Zeune, recent Edd.; ταῦτα ταῦτα F; ταῦτα xzDV, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

and to me myself an end befitting the life that ye have given me."

4. Then after he had concluded his rites and come home, he thought he would be glad to rest and so lay down; and when the hour came, those whose office it was came in and bade him go to his bath. But he told them that he was resting happily. And then again, when the hour came, those whose office it was set dinner before him. But his soul had no desire for food, but he seemed thirsty and drank with pleasure.

5. And when the same thing befell him on the next day and the day after that, he summoned his sons; for they had accompanied him, as it chanced, and were still in Persia. He summoned also his friends and the Persian magistrates; and when they were all come, he began to speak as follows:

6. " My sons, and all you my friends about me, His last words
 the end of my life is now at hand; I am quite sure
 of this for many reasons; and when I am dead, you
 must always speak and act in regard to me as of one
 blessed of fortune. For when I was a boy, I think I He reviews his life
 plucked all the fruits that among boys count for the
 best; when I became a youth, I enjoyed what is
 accounted best among young men; and when I
 became a mature man, I had the best that men can
 have. And as time went on, it seemed to me that
 I recognized that my own strength was always
 increasing with my years, so that I never found
 my old age growing any more feeble than my
 youth had been; and, so far as I know, there is
 nothing that I ever attempted or desired and yet
 failed to secure.

7. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐπεῖδον δι' ἔμοῦ εὐδαιμονας γενομένους, τοὺς δέ πολεμίους ὑπ' ἔμοῦ δουλωθέντας· καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πρόσθεν ἴδιωτεύουσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ νῦν προτετιμημένην καταλείπω· διν τ' ἐκτησάμην οὐδὲν [οἰδα]¹ ὅ τι οὐδεσωσάμην· καὶ τὸν μὲν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐπραττον οὕτως ὥσπερ ηὐχόμην· φόβος δέ μοι συμπαρομαρτῶν μή τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ηἱ ἴδοιμι ηἱ ἀκούσαιμι ηἱ πάθοιμι χαλεπόν, οὐκ εἴα τελέως με μέγα φρονεῖν οὐδὲ εὐφραίνεσθαι ἐκπεπταμένως.

8. Νῦν δ' ἡν τελευτήσω, καταλείπω μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὡς παῖδες, ζῶντας οὕσπερ ἔδοσάν μοι οἱ θεοὶ γενέσθαι· καταλείπω δὲ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους εὐδαιμονοῦντας· 9. ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἀν ἐγὼ δικαίως μακαριζόμενος τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον μνήμης τυγχάνοιμι;

Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν με ἡδη σαφηνίσαντα καταλιπεῖν, ώς ἀν μὴ ἀμφίλογος γενομένη πράγματα ὑμῶν παράσχῃ· ἐγὼ δ' οὖν² φιλῶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς ὁμοίως, ὡς παῖδες· τὸ δὲ προβουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐφ' ὅ τι ἀν καιρὸς δοκῆειναι, τοῦτο προστάττω τῷ προτέρῳ γενομένῳ καὶ πλειόνων κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐμπείρῳ. 10. ἐπαιδεύθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἐμῆς τε καὶ ὑμετέρας πατρίδος, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις οὐ μόνον ἀδελφοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίταις καὶ ὄδῶν καὶ θάκων καὶ λόγων ὑπείκειν, καὶ ὑμᾶς δέ, ὡς παῖδες, οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαίδευον, τοὺς μὲν γεραιτέρους προτί-

¹ οἰδα MSS., Dindorf³, Breitenbach; [οἰδα] Dindorf⁴, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

² δ' οὖν Hertlein, recent Edd.; δὲ νῦν xxv^e, Dindorf, Breitenbach; οὖν γ.

7. "Moreover, I have lived to see my friends made ^{His services} prosperous and happy through my efforts and my enemies reduced by me to subjection; and my country, which once played no great part in Asia, I now leave honoured above all. Of all my conquests, there is not one that I have not maintained. Throughout the past I have fared even as I have wished; but a fear that was ever at my side, lest in the time to come I might see or hear or experience something unpleasant, would not let me become overweeningly proud or extravagantly happy.

8. "But now, if I die, I leave you, my sons, whom the gods have given me, to survive me, and I leave my friends and country happy; 9. and so why should I not be justly accounted blessed and enjoy an immortality of fame?

"But I must also declare my will about the disposition of my throne, that the succession may not become a matter of dispute and cause you trouble. Now, I love you both alike, my sons; but precedence in counsel and leadership in everything that may be thought expedient, that I commit to the first born, who naturally has a wider experience. 10. I, too, was thus trained by my country and yours to give precedence to my elders—not merely to brothers but to all fellow-citizens—on the street, in the matter of seats, and in speaking; and so from the beginning, my children, I have been training you also to honour your elders above yourselves and to

He defines
the success-
sion

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μᾶν, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων προτετιμῆσθαι· ὡς οὖν παλαιὰ καὶ εἰθισμένα καὶ ἔννομα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀποδέχεσθε. 11. καὶ σὺ μέν, ὁ Καμβύση, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχε, θεῶν τε διδόντων καὶ ἐμοῦ ὅσον ἐν ἐμοί.

Σοὶ δέ, ὁ Ταναοξάρη, σατράπην εἶναι δίδωμι Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τρίτων Καδουσίων· ταῦτα δέ σοι διδοὺς νομίζω ἀρχὴν μὲν μείζω καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς βασιλείας τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καταλιπεῖν, εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ σοὶ ἀλυποτέραν. 12. ὅποις μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφροσύνης ἐνδεής ἔσει οὐχ ὄρῳ· ἀλλὰ πάντα σοι τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀνθρώπους εὐφραίνειν παρέσται. τὸ δὲ δυσκαταπρακτοτέρων τε ἔραν καὶ τὸ πολλὰ μεριμνᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν κεντριζόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὰμὰ ἔργα φιλονικίας καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἀνάγκη σοῦ μᾶλλον συμπαρομαρτεῖν, ἢ σάφ' ἵσθι τοῦ¹ εὐφραίνεσθαι πολλὰς ἀσχολίας παρέχει.

13. Οἰσθα μὲν οὖν καὶ σύ, ὁ Καμβύση, ὅτι οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζόν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεύσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον. πιστοὺς δὲ μὴ νόμιζε φύεσθαι ἀνθρώπους· πᾶσι γὰρ ἀν οἱ αὐτοὶ πιστοὶ φαίνοντο, ὥσπερ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ πεφυκότα πᾶσι τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνεται· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πιστοὺς τίθεσθαι δεῖ ἔκαστον ἑαυτῷ· η δὲ κτῆσις αὐτῶν ἔστιν οὐδαμῶς σὺν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ. 14. εἰ οὖν καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς πειράσει συμφύλακας τῆς βασιλείας

¹ τοῦ Schneider, recent Edd.; τῷ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

be honoured above those who are younger. Take what I say, therefore, as that which is approved by time, by custom, and by the law. 11. So you, Cambyses, shall have the throne, the gift of the gods and of myself, in so far as it is mine to give.

"To you, Tanaoxares, I give the satrapy of Media, Armenia, and, in addition to those two, Cadusia. And in giving you this office, I consider that I leave to your older brother greater power and the title of king, while to you I leave a happiness disturbed by fewer cares; 12. for I cannot see what human pleasure you will lack; on the contrary, everything that is thought to bring pleasure to man will be yours. But to set one's heart on more difficult undertakings, to be cumbered with many cares, and to be able to find no rest, because spurred on by emulation of what I have done, to lay plots and to be plotted against, all that must necessarily go hand in hand with royal power more than with your station; and, let me assure you, it brings many interruptions to happiness.

13. "As for you, Cambyses, you must also know that it is not this golden sceptre that maintains your empire; but faithful friends are a monarch's truest and surest sceptre. But do not think that man is naturally faithful; else all men would find the same persons faithful, just as all find the other properties of nature the same. But every one must create for himself faithfulness in his friends; and the winning of such friends comes in no wise by compulsion, but by kindness. 14. If, then, you shall endeavour to make others also fellow-guardians of

His words
of counsel—
(1) to
Cambyses;

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ποιεῖσθαι μηδαμόθεν πρότερον ἄρχου ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ
ὅμοθεν γενομένου. καὶ πολῖταί τοι ἄνθρωποι
ἄλλοδαπῶν οἰκειότεροι καὶ σύσσιτοι ἀποσκήνων.
οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπέρματος φύντες καὶ
ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μητρὸς τραφέντες καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
οἰκίᾳ αὐξηθέντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων
ἀγαπώμενοὶ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν
πατέρα προσαγορεύοντες, πῶς οὐ πάντων οὕτοι
οἰκειότατοι; 15. μὴ οὖν ἂν οἱ θεοὶ ὑφῆγηνται
ἀγαθὰ εἰς οἰκειότητα ἀδελφοῖς μάταιά ποτε
ποιήσητε, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ ταῦτα εὐθὺς οἰκοδομεῖτε
ἄλλα φιλικὰ ἔργα· καὶ οὕτως ἀεὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος
ἄλλοις ἔσται ἡ ὑμετέρα φιλία. ἑαυτοῦ τοι κήδε-
ται ὁ προνοῶν ἀδελφοῦ· τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ ἀδελφῷ
μέγας ὃν οὕτω καλὸν ὡς ἀδελφῷ; τίς δὲ ἄλλος
τιμήσεται δι’ ἄνδρα μέγα δυνάμενον οὕτως ὡς
ἀδελφός; τίνα δὲ φοβήσεται τις ἀδικεῖν ἀδελφοῦ
μεγάλου ὅντος οὕτως ὡς τὸν ἀδελφόν;

16. Μήτε οὖν θᾶττον μηδεὶς σοῦ τούτῳ ὑπα-
κουέτω μήτε προθυμότερον παρέστω· οὐδενὶ γὰρ
οἰκειότερα τὰ τούτου οὔτε ἀγαθὰ οὔτε δεινὰ ἢ
σοι. ἐννόει δὲ καὶ τάδε· τίνι χαρισάμενος ἐλπί-
σαις ἀν μειζόνων τυχεῖν ἢ τούτῳ; τίνι δὲ ἀν
βοηθήσας ἵσχυρότερον σύμμαχον ἀντιλάβοις;
τίνα δὲ αἴσχιον μὴ φιλεῖν ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν; τίνα

your sovereignty, make a beginning nowhere sooner than with him who is of the same blood with yourself. Fellow-citizens, you know, stand nearer than foreigners do, and messmates nearer than those who eat elsewhere; but those who are sprung from the same seed, nursed by the same mother, reared in the same home, loved by the same parents, and who address the same persons as father and mother, how are they not the closest of all? 15. Do not you two, therefore, ever make of no effect those blessings whereby the gods have led the way to knitting close the bonds between brothers, but do you build at once upon that foundation still other works of love; and thus the love between you will always be a love that no other men can ever surpass. Surely he that has forethought for his brother is taking care for himself; for to whom else is a brother's greatness more of an honour than to a brother? And who else will be honoured by the power of a great man so much as that man's brother? And if a man's brother is a great man, whom will any one so much fear to injure as that man's brother?

16. "Therefore, Tanaoxares, let no one more ⁽²⁾ to
readily than yourself yield obedience to your brother Tanaoxares
or more zealously support him. For his fortunes,
good or ill, will touch no one more closely than
yourself. And bear this also in mind: whom could
you favour in the hope of getting more from
him than from your brother? Where could you
lend help and get in return a surer ally than you
would find in him? Whom would it be a more
shameful thing for you not to love than your own
brother? And who is there in all the world whom

δὲ ἀπάντων κάλλιον προτιμᾶν ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν;
μόνου τοι, ὡς Καμβύση, πρωτεύοντος ἀδελφοῦ
παρ' ἀδελφῷ οὐδὲ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
ἔφικνεῖται.¹

17. Ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν πατρώων, ὡς παῖδες,
τιμᾶτε ἄλλήλους, εἴ τι καὶ τοῦ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι
μέλει ὑμῖν οὐ γάρ δήπου τοῦτό γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε
εἰδέναι ως οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐγὼ ἔσομαι,² ἐπειδὰν τοῦ
ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τελευτῆσω οὐδὲ γάρ νῦν τοι
τὴν γένεσιν ψυχὴν ἔωράτε, ἀλλ' οἷς διεπράττετο,
τούτοις αὐτὴν ως οὖσαν κατεφωράτε. 18. τὰς
δὲ τῶν ἄδικα παθόντων ψυχὰς οὕπω κατενοήσατε
οἶους μὲν φόβους τοῖς μιαιφόνοις ἐμβάλλουσιν,
οἶους δὲ παλαμναίους τοῖς ἀνοσίοις ἐπιπέμπουσι;
τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις τὰς τιμὰς διαμένειν ἔτι ἀν
δοκεῖτε, εἴ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ κύριαι ἦσαν;
19. οὗτοι ἔγωγε, ὡς παῖδες, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πώποτε
ἐπείσθην ως ή ψυχὴ ἔως μὲν ἀν ἐν θυητῷ σώματι
ἥ, ζῆ, ὅταν δὲ τούτου ἀπαλλαγῇ, τέθυηκεν· ὁρῶ
γάρ ὅτι καὶ τὰ θυητὰ σώματα ὅσον ἀν ἐν αὐτοῖς
χρόνον ἥ ή ψυχή, ζῶντα παρέχεται. 20. οὐδέ
γε ὅπως ἄφρων ἔσται ή ψυχή, ἐπειδὰν τοῦ
ἄφρονος σώματος δίχα γένηται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πέ-
πιεισματ. ἀλλ' ὅταν ἄκρατος καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ νοῦς
ἐκκριθῇ, τότε καὶ φρονιμώτατον αὐτὸν εἰκὸς είναι.
διαλυομένου δὲ ἀνθρώπου δῆλά ἔστιν ἔκαστα
ἀπιόντα πρὸς τὸ ὄμόφυλον πλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς· αὕτη
δὲ μόνη οὔτε παροῦσα οὔτε ἀπιοῦσα ὄραται.

¹ ἔφικνεῖται Dindorf, Edd.; ἔφικνεῖται MSS.

² ἔτι ἐγὼ ἔσομαι x, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; εἰ μὲν ἐγὼ ἔτι
xxv, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

it would be a more noble thing to prefer in honour than your brother? It is only a brother, you know, Cambyses, whom, if he holds the first place of love in his brother's heart, the envy of others cannot reach.

17. "Nay by our fathers' gods I implore you, my sons, honour one another, if you care at all to give me pleasure. For assuredly, this one thing, so it seems to me, you do not know clearly, that I shall have no further being when I have finished this earthly life; for not even in this life have you seen my soul, but you have detected its existence by what it accomplished. 18. Have you never yet observed what terror the souls of those who have been foully dealt with strike into the hearts of those who have shed their blood, and what avenging deities they send upon the track of the wicked? And do you think that the honours paid to the dead would continue, if their souls had no part in any of them? 19. I am sure I do not; nor yet, my sons, have I ever convinced myself of this—that only as long as it is contained in a mortal body is the soul alive, but when it has been freed from it, is dead; for I see that it is the soul that endues mortal bodies with life, as long as it is in them. 20. Neither have I been able to convince myself of this—that the soul will want intelligence just when it is separated from this unintelligent body; but when the spirit is set free, pure and untrammelled by matter, then it is likely to be most intelligent. And when man is resolved into his primal elements, it is clear that every part returns to kindred matter, except the soul; that alone cannot be seen, either when present or when departing.

Cyrus on
the immor-
tality of the
soul

XENOPHON

21. Ἐννοήσατε δ', ἔφη, δτι ἐγγύτερον μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θανάτῳ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὕπνου· ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ τότε δήπου θειοτάτη καταφαίνεται καὶ τότε τι τῶν μελλόντων προορᾶ· τότε γάρ, ως ἔοικε, μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦται.

22. Εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα ὥσπερ ἐγὼ οἶμαι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καταλείπει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι ποιεῖτε ἢ ἐγὼ δέομαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μένουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ σώματι συναποθυήσκει, ἀλλὰ θεούς γε τοὺς ἀεὶ δύντας καὶ πάντ' ἐφορῶντας καὶ πάντα δυναμένους, οἱ καὶ τήνδε τὴν τῶν δλων τάξιν συνέχουσιν ἀτριβῆ καὶ ἀγήρατον¹ καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ὑπὸ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους ἀδιήγητον, τούτους φοβούμενοι μήποτε ἀσεβὲς μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόσιον μήτε ποιήσητε μήτε βουλεύσητε.

23. Μετὰ μέντοι θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πᾶν γένος τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπιγυγνόμενον αἰδεῖσθε· οὐ γάρ ἐν σκότῳ ὑμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ ἀποκρύπτονται, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμφανῆ πᾶσιν ἀνάγκη ἀεὶ ξῆν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔργα· ἢ ἡν μὲν καθαρὰ καὶ ἔξω τῶν ἀδίκων φαίνηται, δυνατοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναδείξει· εἰ δὲ εἰς ἄλληλους ἀδικόν τι φρονήσετε, ἐκ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι ἀποβαλεῖτε. οὐδεὶς γάρ ἀν ἔτι πιστεῦσαι δύναιτο ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ εἰ πάνυ προθυμοῖτο, ἵδων ἀδικούμενον τὸν μάλιστα φιλίᾳ προσήκοντα.

24. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἴκανῶς διδάσκω οἵους χρὴ πρὸς ἄλληλους εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγεγενημένων μανθάνετε· αὕτη γὰρ ἀρίστη

¹ ἀγήρατον F, Photius, Edd.; ἀκήρατον xzV; ἀκρατον D.

21. "Consider again," he continued, "that there is nothing in the world more nearly akin to death than is sleep; and the soul of man at just such times is revealed in its most divine aspect and at such times, too, it looks forward into the future; for then, it seems, it is most untrammelled by the bonds of the flesh.

22. "Now if this is true, as I think it is, and if the soul does leave the body, then do what I request of you and show reverence for my soul. But if it is not so, and if the soul remains in the body and dies with it, then at least fear the gods, eternal, all-seeing, omnipotent, who keep this ordered universe together, unimpaired, ageless, unerring, indescribable in its beauty and its grandeur; and never allow yourselves to do or purpose anything wicked or unholy.

23. "Next to the gods, however, show respect also to all the race of men as they continue in perpetual succession; for the gods do not hide you away in darkness, but your works must ever live on in the sight of all men; and if they are pure and untainted with unrighteousness, they will make your power manifest among all mankind. But if you conceive any unrighteous schemes against each other, you will forfeit in the eyes of all men your right to be trusted. For no one would be able any longer to trust you—not even if he very much desired to do so—if he saw either of you wronging that one who has the first claim to the other's love.

24. "Now, if I am giving you sufficient instructions as to what manner of men you ought to be one towards the other—well and good; if not, then

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διδασκαλία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διαγεγένηται φίλοι μὲν γονεῖς παιστὶ, φίλοι δὲ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφοῖς· ἥδη δέ τινες τούτων καὶ ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἔπραξαν· ὅποτέροις ἀν οὖν αἰσθάνησθε τὰ πραχθέντα συνενεγκόντα, ταῦτα δὴ αἴρούμενοι δρθῶς ἀν βουλεύοισθε.

25. Καὶ τούτων μὲν ἵσως ἥδη ἄλις.

Τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν σῶμα, ὡς παιδεῖς, δταν τελευτῆσω, μήτε ἐν χρυσῷ θῆτε μήτε ἐν ἀργύρῳ μήτε ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ ὡς τάχιστα ἀπόδοτε. τί γὰρ τούτου μακαριώτερον τοῦ γῆ μιχθῆναι, ή πάντα μὲν τὰ καλά, πάντα δὲ τάγαθὰ φύει τε καὶ τρέφει; ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλάνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ νῦν ἥδεως ἀν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ εὐεργετοῦντος ἀνθρώπους.

26. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἥδη, ἔφη, ἐκλείπειν μοι φαίνεται ή ψυχὴ ὅθενπερ, ὡς ἔοικε, πᾶσιν ἀρχεται ἀπολείπουσα. εἴ τις οὖν ὑμῶν ἡ δεξιᾶς βούλεται τῆς ἐμῆς ἄψασθαι ἡ ὅμμα τούμδον ζῶντος ἔτι προσιδεῖν ἐθέλει, προσίτω· δταν δ' ἐγὼ ἐγκαλύψωμαι, αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, ὡς παιδεῖς, μηδεὶς ἔτ' ἀνθρώπων τούμδον σῶμα ἰδέτω, μηδ' αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς.

27. Πέρσας μέντοι πάντας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα τούμδον παρακαλεῖτε συνησθησομένους ἐμοὶ δτι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἥδη ἔσομαι, ὡς μηδὲν ἀν ἔτι κακὸν παθεῖν, μήτε ἦν μετὰ τοῦ θείου γένωμαι μήτε ἦν μηδὲν ἔτι ὡς ὅπόσοι δ' ἀν

you must learn it from the history of the past, for this is the best source of instruction. For, as a rule, parents have always been friends to their children, brothers to their brothers ; but ere now some of them have been at enmity one with another. Whichever, therefore, of these two courses you shall find to have been profitable, choose that, and you would counsel well.

25. "But of this, perhaps, enough.

"Now as to my body, when I am dead, my sons, lay it away neither in gold nor in silver nor in anything else, but commit it to the earth as soon as may be. For what is more blessed than to be united with the earth, which brings forth and nourishes all things beautiful and all things good ? I have always been a friend to man, and I think I should gladly now become a part of that which does him so much good.

26. "But I must conclude," he said ; "for my soul seems to me to be slipping away from those parts of my body, from which, as it appears, it is wont to begin its departure. So if any one wishes to take my hand or desires to look into my face while I yet live, let him come near ; but after I have covered myself over, I beg of you, my children, let no one look upon my body, not even yourselves.

27. "Invite, however, all the Persians and our allies to my burial, to joy with me in that I shall henceforth be in security such that no evil can ever again come nigh me, whether I shall be in the divine presence or whether I shall no longer have any being ; and to all those who come show all the courtesies that are usual in honour of a man

He gives
directions
for his
burial

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ἔλθωσι, τούτους εὖ ποιήσαντες ὅπόσα ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ¹
εὐδαίμονι νομίζεται ἀποπέμπετε.

28. Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, μέμιησθέ μου τελευταῖον,
τοὺς φίλους εὐεργετοῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς
δυνήσεσθε κολάζειν. καὶ χαίρετε, ὡς φίλοι παῖδες,
καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἀπαγγέλλετε ὡς παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ
πάντες δὲ οἱ παρόντες καὶ οἱ ἀπόντες φίλοι
χαίρετε.

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ πάντας δεξιωσάμενος ἐνεκα-
λύψατο¹ καὶ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

Chapter VIII can be considered only as a later addition to Xenophon's work—a bit of historical criticism in a review accompanying the book reviewed. It spoils the perfect unity of the work up to this chapter: Cyrus is born, grows to manhood, completes his conquests, establishes his kingdom, organizes the various departments of his empire, dies. Some violent opponent of Medic influence in Athens could not

VIII²

[1. "Οτι μὲν δὴ καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἡ Κύρου βασιλεία ἐγένετο αὐτὴ ἑαυτῇ μαρτυρεῖ. ὥρισθη γὰρ πρὸς ἔω μὲν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάττῃ, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, πρὸς ἑσπέραν δὲ Κύπρῳ καὶ Αἴγυπτῳ, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἴθιοπίᾳ. τοσαύτη δὲ γενομένη μᾶς γνώμη τῇ Κύρου ἐκυβερνᾶτο, καὶ ἐκεῖνός τε τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ὥσπερ ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἐτίμα τε καὶ ἐθεράπευεν, οἵ τε ἀρχόμενοι Κύρου ὡς

¹ ἐνεκαλύψατο Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; συνεκαλύψατο MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

² Chapter viii came under the suspicion of Valckenaer first;

that has been blessed of fortune, and then dismiss them.

28. "Remember also this last word of mine," he said : "if you do good to your friends, you will also be able to punish your enemies. And now farewell, my children, and say farewell to your mother as from me. And to all my friends, both present and absent, I bid farewell."

After these words, he shook hands with them all, covered himself over, and so died.

leave all this glorification of Persian institutions unchallenged, and so in this appendix he has supplied an account of the degeneracy of the descendants of the virtuous Persians of the earlier day.

The chapter is included here in accord with all the manuscripts and editions. But the reader is recommended to close the book at this point and read no further.

VIII

[1. THAT Cyrus's empire was the greatest and most glorious of all the kingdoms in Asia—of that it may be its own witness. For it was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, and on the south by Ethiopia. And although it was of such magnitude, it was governed by the single will of Cyrus; and he honoured his subjects and cared for them as if they were his own children; and they, on their part, it is rejected by most Edd.; it is defended by Cobet, Eichler, Marchant.]

πατέρα ἐσέβοντο. 2. ἐπεὶ μέντοι Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν, εὐθὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες ἐστασίαζον, εὐθὺς δὲ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη ἀφίσταντο, πάντα δὲπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐτρέπετο. ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω ἀρξομαι διδάσκων ἐκ τῶν θείων.

Οἶδα γὰρ δὲτι πρότερον μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἔσχατα πεποιηκόσιν εἴτε ὄρκους δομόσειαν, ἡμπέδουν, εἴτε δεξιὰς δοῖεν, ἐβεβαίουν. 3. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἥσαν καὶ τοιαύτην δόξαν εἰχον οὐδὲ ἀν εἰς αὐτοῖς ἐπίστευσεν,¹ ὥσπερ οὐδὲ νῦν πιστεύει οὐδὲ εἰς ἔτι, ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσται ἡ ἀσέβεια αὐτῶν. οὕτως οὐδὲ τότε ἐπίστευσαν ἀν οἱ τῶν σὸν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντων στρατηγούν· νῦν δὲ δὴ τῇ πρόσθεν αὐτῶν δόξῃ πιστεύσαντες ἐνεχείρισαν ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἀναχθέντες πρὸς βασιλέα ἀπετμήθησαν τὰς κεφαλάς. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συστρατευσάντων βαρβάρων ἄλλοι ἄλλαις πίστεσιν ἔξαπατηθέντες ἀπώλοντο.

4. Πολὺ δὲ καὶ τάδε χείρονες νῦν εἰσι. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ εἴ τις ἡ διακινδυνεύσειε πρὸ βασιλέως ἡ πόλιν ἡ ἔθνος ὑποχείριον ποιήσειεν ἡ ἄλλο τι καλὸν ἡ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ διαπράξειεν, οὗτοι ἥσαν οἱ τιμώμενοι· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἦν τις ὥσπερ Μιθραδάτης τὸν πατέρα Ἀριοβαρζάνην προδούς, καὶ ἦν τις

¹ ἐπίστευσεν Hug, Gemoll; ἐπίστευεν MSS., other Edd.

reverenced Cyrus as a father. 2. Still, as soon as Cyrus was dead, his children at once fell into dissension, states and nations began to revolt, and everything began to deteriorate. And that what I say is the truth, I will prove, beginning with the Persians' attitude toward religion.

I know, for example, that in early times the kings and their officers, in their dealings with even the worst offenders, would abide by an oath that they might have given, and be true to any pledge they might have made. 3. For had they not had such a character for honour, and had they not been true to their reputation, not a man would have trusted them, just as not a single person any longer trusts them, now that their lack of character is notorious ; and the generals of the Greeks who joined the expedition of Cyrus the Younger would not have had such confidence in them even on that occasion. But, as it was, trusting in the previous reputation of the Persian kings, they placed themselves in the king's power, were led into his presence, and had their heads cut off. And many also of the barbarians who joined that expedition went to their doom, some deluded by one promise, others by another.

4. But at the present time they are still worse, as the following will show : if, for example, any one in the olden times risked his life for the king, or if any one reduced a state or a nation to submission to him, or effected anything else of good or glory for him, such an one received honour and preferment ; now, on the other hand, if any one seems to bring some advantage to the king by evil-doing, whether as Mithradates did, by betraying his own father Ario-

The decline
in moral
standards

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ῶσπερ Ἐρεμίθρης τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς τῶν φίλων παῖδας ὁμήρους παρὰ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους δρκους παραβὰς βασιλεῖ δόξῃ τι σύμφορον ποιῆσαι, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς γεραιρόμενοι.

5. Ταῦτα οὖν ὄρωντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσεβὲς καὶ τὸ ἀδικον τετραμμένοι εἰσὶν· ὅποιοι τινες γὰρ ἀν οἱ προστάται ὁσι, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γίγνονται. ἀθεμιστότεροι δὴ νῦν ἡ πρόσθεν ταύτη γεγένηνται.

6. Εἴς γε μὴν χρήματα τῆδε ἀδικώτεροι· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκότας, ἀλλ' ἡδη τοὺς οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότας συλλαμβάνοντες ἀναγκάζουσι πρὸς οὐδὲν δίκαιον χρήματα ἀποτίνειν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡττον οἱ πολλὰ ἔχειν δοκοῦντες τῶν πολλὰ ἡδικηκότων φοβοῦνται· καὶ εἰς χεῖρας οὐδὲ οὗτοι ἔθελουσι τοῖς κρείττοσιν ιέναι. οὐδέ γε ἀθροίζεσθαι εἰς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν θαρροῦσι. 7. τοιγαροῦν δόστις ἀν πολεμῆ αὐτοῖς, πᾶσιν ἔξεστιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν ἀναστρέφεσθαι ἀνευ μάχης ὅπως ἀν βούλωνται διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ μὲν θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν, περὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικίαν. αἱ μὲν δὴ γυνῶμαι ταύτη τῷ παντὶ χείρους νῦν ἡ τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτῶν.

8. Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμέλονται ὥσπερ πρόσθεν, νῦν αὖ τοῦτο διηγήσομαι. νόμιμον γὰρ δὴ ἦν αὐτοῖς μήτε πτύειν μήτε ἀπομύτεσθαι. δῆλον δὲ δτι ταῦτα οὐ τοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι

barzanes, or as a certain Rheomithres did, in violating his most sacred oaths and leaving his wife and children and the children of his friends behind as hostages in the power of the king of Egypt¹—such are the ones who now have the highest honours heaped upon them.

5. Witnessing such a state of morality, all the inhabitants of Asia have been turned to wickedness and wrong-doing. For, whatever the character of the rulers is, such also that of the people under them for the most part becomes. In this respect they are now even more unprincipled than before.

6. In money matters, too, they are more dishonest in this particular: they arrest not merely those who have committed many offences, but even those who have done no wrong, and against all justice compel them to pay fines; and so those who are supposed to be rich are kept in a state of terror no less than those who have committed many crimes, and they are no more willing than malefactors are to come into close relations with their superiors in power; in fact, they do not even venture to enlist in the royal army. 7. Accordingly, owing to their impiety toward the gods and their iniquity toward man, any one who is engaged in war with them can, if he desire, range up and down their country without having to strike a blow. Their principles in so far, therefore, are in every respect worse now than they were in antiquity.

8. In the next place, as I will now show, they do not care for their physical strength as they used to do. For example, it used to be their custom neither to spit nor to blow the nose. It is obvious that they

¹ Tachos; see Index, s.v. Ariobarzanes.

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νύγροῦ φειδόμενοι ἐνόμισαν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι διὰ πόνων καὶ ἴδρωτος τὰ σώματα στερεοῦσθαι. νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μὴν πτύειν μηδὲ ἀπομύττεσθαι ἔτι διαμένει, τὸ δ' ἐκπονεῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἐπιτηδεύεται. 9. καὶ μὴν πρόσθεν μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς μονοσιτεῦν υόμιμον, ὅπως ὅλη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ χρῶντο εἰς τὰς πράξεις καὶ εἰς τὸ διαπονεῖσθαι. νῦν γε μὴν τὸ μὲν μονοσιτεῦν ἔτι διαμένει, ἀρχόμενοι δὲ τοῦ σίτου ἡνίκαπερ οἱ πρωαίτατα ἀριστώντες μέχρι τούτου ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες διάγουσιν ἔστεπερ οἱ ὀψιαίτατα κοιμώμενοι.

10. Ἡν δ' αὐτοῖς υόμιμον μηδὲ προχοΐδας εἰσφέρεσθαι εἰς τὰ συμπόσια, δῆλον ὅτι νομίζοντες τὸ μὴ ὑπερπίνειν ἥττον ἀν καὶ σώματα καὶ γνώμας σφάλλειν· νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μὴ εἰσφέρεσθαι ἔτι αὖ διαμένει, τοσοῦτον δὲ πίνουσιν ὥστε ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰσφέρειν αὐτοὶ ἐκφέρονται, ἐπειδὰν μηκέτι δύνωνται ὄρθούμενοι ἔξιέναι.

11. Ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεῦνο ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώριον τὸ μεταξὺ πορευομένους μήτε ἐσθίειν μήτε πίνειν μήτε τῶν διὰ ταῦτα ἀναγκαίων μηδὲν ποιοῦντας φανεροὺς εἶναι· νῦν δ' αὖ τὸ μὲν τούτων ἀπέχεσθαι ἔτι διαμένει, τὰς μέντοι πορέας οὕτω βραχέιας ποιοῦνται ως μηδέν' ἀν ἔτι θαυμάσαι τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

12. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ θήραν πρόσθεν μὲν τοσαυτάκις ἔξῆσαν ὥστε ἀρκεῦν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἵπποις γυμνάσια τὰς θήρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξης

observed this custom not for the sake of saving the moisture in the body, but from the wish to harden the body by labour and perspiration. But now the custom of refraining from spitting or blowing the nose still continues, but they never give themselves the trouble to work off the moisture in some other direction. 9. In former times it was their custom also to eat but once in the day, so that they might devote the whole day to business and hard work. Now, to be sure, the custom of eating but once a day still prevails, but they begin to eat at the hour when those who breakfast earliest begin their morning meal, and they keep on eating and drinking until the hour when those who stay up latest go to bed.

10. They had also the custom of not bringing pots into their banquets, evidently because they thought that if one did not drink to excess, both mind and body would be less uncertain. So even now the custom of not bringing in the pots still obtains, but they drink so much that, instead of carrying anything in, they are themselves carried out when they are no longer able to stand straight enough to walk out.

11. Again, this also was a native custom of theirs, neither to eat nor drink while on a march, nor yet to be seen doing any of the necessary consequences of eating or drinking. Even yet that same abstinence prevails, but they make their journeys so short that no one would be surprised at their ability to resist those calls of nature.

12. Again, in times past they used to go out hunting so often that the hunts afforded sufficient exercise for both men and horses. But since Ar-

Decline of
the old dis-
ciplines

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ό βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἡττους τοῦ οἴνου ἐγένοντο, οὐκέτι ὁμοίως οὕτ' αὐτοὶ ἔξῆσαν οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξῆργον ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τινες φιλόπονοι γενόμενοι σὺν¹ τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἵππεῦσι θαμὰ θηρῷεν,² φθονοῦντες αὐτοῖς δῆλοι ἦσαν καὶ ὡς βελτίονας αὐτῶν ἐμίσουν.

13. Ἀλλά τοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὸ μὲν παιδεύεσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔτι διαμένει· τὸ μέντοι τὰ ἵππικὰ μανθάνειν καὶ μελετᾶν ἀπέσβηκε διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ὅπου ἀν ἀποφανόμενοι εὐδοκιμοῦν. καὶ ὅτι γε οἱ παῖδες ἀκούοντες ἐκεῖ πρόσθεν τὰς δίκας δικαίως δικαζομένας ἐδόκουν μανθάνειν δικαιότητα, καὶ τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἀνέστραπται· σαφῶς γάρ ὅρῶσι νικῶντας ὄπότεροι ἀν πλεῖον διδῶσιν. 14. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φυομένων ἐκ τῆς γῆς τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ παῖδες πρόσθεν μὲν ἐμάνθανον, ὅπως τοῖς μὲν ὠφελίμοις χρῆντο, τῶν δὲ βλαβερῶν ἀπέχοιντο· νῦν δὲ ἑοίκασι ταῦτα διδασκομένοις, ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστα κακοποιώσιν οὐδαμοῦ γοῦν πλείους ἢ ἐκεῖ οὕτ' ἀποθηῆσκουσιν οὔτε διαφθείρονται ὑπὸ φαρμάκων.

15. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θρυππικώτεροι πολὺ νῦν ἢ ἐπὶ Κύρου εἰσί. τότε μὲν γάρ ἔτι τῇ ἐκ Περσῶν παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐγκρατείᾳ ἐχρῶντο, τῇ δὲ Μήδων στολῇ καὶ ἀβρότητι· νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν καρτερίαν περιορῶσιν ἀποσβεννυμένην, τὴν δὲ τῶν Μήδων μαλακίαν διασώζονται.

¹ σὺν Dindorf, Hug; [καὶ] σὺν Marchant, Gemoll; καὶ σὺν MSS. (except Med. 55. 19).

² θαμὰ θηρῷεν Dindorf, Edd.; ἀμα θηρῷεν xyGV; μαρτυρῶν AH.

taxerxes and his court became the victims of wine, they have neither gone out themselves in the old way nor taken the others out hunting ; on the contrary, if any one often went hunting with his friends out of sheer love for physical exertion, the courtiers would not hide their jealousy and would hate him as presuming to be a better man than they.

13. Again, it is still the custom for the boys to be educated at court; but instruction and practice in horsemanship have died out, because there are no occasions on which they may give an exhibition and win distinction for skill. And while anciently the boys used there to hear cases at law justly decided and so to learn justice, as they believed—that also has been entirely reversed ; for now they see all too clearly that whichever party gives the larger bribe wins the case. 14. The boys of that time used also to learn the properties of the products of the earth, so as to avail themselves of the useful ones and keep away from those that were harmful. But now it looks as if they learned them only in order to do as much harm as possible ; at any rate, there is no place where more people die or lose their lives from poisons than there.

15. Furthermore, they are much more effeminate now than they were in Cyrus's day. For at that time they still adhered to the old discipline and the old abstinence that they received from the Persians, but adopted the Median garb and Median luxury ; now, on the contrary, they are allowing the rigour of the Persians to die out, while they keep up the effeminacy of the Medes.

16. Σαφηνίσαι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ τὴν θρύψιν αὐτῶν. ἐκείνοις γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς εὔνας οὐ μόνον ἀρκεῖ μαλακῶς ὑποστόρνυσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἡδη καὶ τῶν κλινῶν τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ δαπίδων¹ τιθέασιν, δπως μὴ ἀντερείδῃ τὸ δάπεδον, ἀλλ’ ὑπείκωσιν αἱ δάπιδες. καὶ μὴν τὰ πεττόμενα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ὅσα τε πρόσθεν εὔρητο, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφήρηται, ἄλλα τε ἀεὶ καινὰ ἐπιμηχανῶνται· καὶ ὅψα γε ώσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ καινοποιητὰς ἀμφοτέρων τούτων κέκτηνται.

17. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι οὐ μόνον κεφαλὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ πόδας ἀρκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἐσκεπάσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἄκραις ταῖς χερσὶ χειρίδας δασείας καὶ δακτυλήθρας ἔχουσιν. ἐν γε μὴν τῷ θέρει οὐκ ἀρκοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οὕθ' αἱ τῶν δένδρων οὕθ' αἱ τῶν πετρῶν σκιαί, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύταις ἑτέρας σκιαὶς ἄνθρωποι μηχανώμενοι αὐτοῖς παρεστᾶσι.

18. Καὶ μὴν ἐκπώματα ἦν μὲν ώς πλεῖστα ἔχωσι, τούτῳ καλλωπίζονται· ἦν δὲ ἐξ ἀδίκου φανερῶς ἢ μεμηχανημένα, οὐδὲν τούτο αἰσχύνονται· πολὺ γὰρ ηὔξηται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀδικία τε καὶ αἰσχροκέρδεια.

19. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν ἦν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοῖς μὴ ὄρασθαι πεζῇ πορευομένοις, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἔνεκα ἡ τοῦ ώς ἵππικωτάτους γίγνεσθαι· νῦν δὲ στρώματα πλείω ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐνῶν· οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἵππείας οὔτως ὥσπερ τοῦ μαλακῶς καθῆσθαι ἐπιμέλονται. 20. τά γε μὴν πολεμικὰ πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως νῦν τῷ παντὶ

¹ δαπίδων Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug; ταπίδων κύν, Margchart, Gemoll; ταπήτων G; ταπήδων A.H.

16. I should like to explain their effeminacy more ^{The effeminity of the orientals} in detail. In the first place, they are not satisfied with only having their couches upholstered with down, but they actually set the posts of their beds upon carpets, so that the floor may offer no resistance, but that the carpets may yield. Again, whatever sorts of bread and pastry for the table had been discovered before, none of all those have fallen into disuse, but they keep on always inventing something new besides; and it is the same way with meats; for in both branches of cookery they actually have artists to invent new dishes.

17. Again, in winter they are not satisfied with having clothing on their heads and bodies and legs, but they must have also sleeves thickly lined to the very tips of their fingers, and gloves besides. In summer, on the other hand, they are not satisfied with the shade afforded by the trees and rocks, but amid these they have people stand by them to provide artificial shade.

18. They take great pride also in having as many cups as possible; but they are not ashamed if it transpire that they came by them by dishonest means, for dishonesty and sordid love of gain have greatly increased among them.

19. Furthermore, it was of old a national custom ^{The modern knighthood} not to be seen going anywhere on foot; and that was for no other purpose than to make themselves as knightly as possible. But now they have more coverings upon their horses than upon their beds, for they do not care so much for knighthood as for a soft seat. 20. And so is it not to be expected that in military prowess they should be wholly

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χείρους ἡ πρόσθεν εἰσίν; οἱς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ ἐπιχώριον εἶναι ὑπῆρχε τοὺς¹ μὲν τὴν γῆν ἔχοντας ἀπὸ ταύτης ἵππότας παρέχεσθαι, οἱ δὴ καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο εἰ δέοι στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φρουροῦντας πρὸ τῆς χώρας μισθοφόρους εἶναι· νῦν δὲ τούς τε θυρωροὺς καὶ τοὺς σιτοποιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὁψοποιοὺς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ λουτροχόους καὶ παρατιθέντας καὶ ἀναιροῦντας καὶ κατακοιμίζοντας καὶ ἀνιστάντας, καὶ τοὺς κοσμητάς, οἱ ὑποχρίουσι τε καὶ ἐντρίβουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τἄλλα ῥυθμίζουσι, τούτους πάντας ἵππέας οἱ δυνάσται πεποιήκασιν, ὅπως μισθοφορῶσιν αὐτοῖς. 21. πλῆθος μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ τούτων φαίνεται, οὐ μέντοι ὅφελός γε οὐδὲν αὐτῶν εἰς πόλεμον δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γυγνόμενα· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ῥᾶν οἱ πολέμιοι ἡ οἱ φίλοι ἀναστρέφονται. 22. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦ μὲν ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀποπαύσας, θωρακίσας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἕππους καὶ ἐν παλτὸν ἑκάστῳ δοὺς εἰς χεῖρα ὄμόθεν τὴν μάχην ἐποιεῖτο· νῦν δὲ οὕτε ἀκροβολίζονται ἔτι οὔτ' εἰς χεῖρας συνιόντες μάχονται. 23. καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἔχουσι μὲν γέρρα καὶ κοπίδας καὶ σαγάρεις ὥσπερ οἱ² ἐπὶ Κύρου τὴν μάχην ποιησάμενοι εἰς χεῖρας δὲ ἔναι πούδρα οὔτοι ἐθέλουσιν.

24. Οὐδέ γε τοῖς δρεπανηφόροις ἄρμασιν ἔτι χρῶνται ἐφ' ὃ Κῦρος αὐτὰ ἐποιήσατο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τιμαῖς αὐξήσας τοὺς ἡνιόχους καὶ ἀγαστοὺς³

¹ οἱ Nitsche, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS., other Edd.

² ἀγαστοὺς Dindorf⁴, Hug, Marchant, Genioll; ἀγαθοὺς MSS., Dindorf⁵, Breitenbach.

inferior to what they used to be? In times past it was their national custom that those who held lands should furnish cavalrymen from their possessions and that these, in case of war, should also take the field, while those who performed outpost duty in defence of the country received pay for their services. But now the rulers make knights out of their porters, bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, bath-room attendants, butlers, waiters, chamberlains who assist them in retiring at night and in rising in the morning, and beauty-doctors who pencil their eyes and rouge their cheeks for them and otherwise beautify them; these are the sort that they make into knights to serve for pay for them. 21. From such recruits, therefore, a host is obtained, but they are of no use in war; and that is clear from actual occurrences: for enemies may range up and down their land with less hindrance than friends. 22. For Cyrus had abolished skirmishing at a distance, had armed both horses and men with breastplates, had put a javelin into each man's hand, and had introduced the method of fighting hand to hand. But now they neither skirmish at a distance any longer, nor yet do they fight in a hand-to-hand engagement. 23. The infantry still have their wicker shields and bills and sabres, just as those had who set the battle in array in the times of Cyrus; but not even they are willing to come into a hand-to-hand conflict.

24. Neither do they employ the scythed chariot any longer for the purpose for which Cyrus had it made. For he advanced the charioteers to honour and made them objects of admiration and so had

Inefficiency
of infantry
and chariots

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ποιήσας εἶχε τοὺς εἰς τὰ δύπλα ἐμβαλοῦντας· οἱ δὲ νῦν οὐδὲ γυγνώσκοντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρμασιν οἴονται σφίσιν ὁμοίους τοὺς ἀνασκῆτους τοῖς ἡσκηκόσιν ἔσεσθαι. 25. οἱ δὲ ὅρμῶσι μέν, πρὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες¹ ἐκπίπτουσιν, οἱ δ' ἔξαλλονται, ὥστε ἄνευ ἡνιόχων γυγνόμενα τὰ ζεύγη πολλάκις πλείω κακὰ τοὺς φίλους ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ποιεῖν. 26. ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὶ γυγνώσκουσιν οὐλα σφίσι τὰ πολεμιστήρια ὑπάρχει, ὑφίενται, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἄνευ Ἐλλήνων εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταται, οὔτε δταν ἀλλήλοις πολεμῶσιν οὔτε δταν οἱ Ἐλληνες αὐτοῖς ἀντιστρατεύονται· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἐγνώκασι μεθ' Ἐλλήνων τοὺς πολέμους ποιεῖσθαι.

27. Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ οἶμαι ἀπερ ὑπεθέμην ἀπειργάσθαι μοι. φημὶ γὰρ Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀσεβεστέρους περὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνοσιωτέρους περὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδικωτέρους περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ ἀνανδροτέρους τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι. εἰ δέ τις τάναντία ἐμοὶ γυγνώσκοι, τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶν εὑρήσει αὐτὰ μαρτυροῦντα τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις.]

¹ ἄκοντες Muretus, Edd.; ἄκοντες MSS.

men who were ready to hurl themselves against even a heavy-armed line. The officers of the present day, however, do not so much as know the men in the chariots, and they think that untrained drivers will be just as serviceable to them as trained charioteers. 25. Such untrained men do indeed charge, but before they penetrate the enemy's lines some of them are unintentionally thrown out, some of them jump out on purpose, and so the teams without drivers often create more havoc on their own side than on the enemy's. 26. However, inasmuch as even they understand what sort of material for war they have, they abandon the effort; and no one ever goes to war any more without the help of Greek mercenaries, be it when they are at war with one another or when the Greeks make war upon them; but even against Greeks they recognize that they can conduct their wars only with the assistance of Greeks.

The barbarian helpless without Greek soldiers

27. I think now that I have accomplished the task Conclusion that I set before myself. For I maintain that I have proved that the Persians of the present day and those living in their dependencies are less reverent toward the gods, less dutiful to their relatives, less upright in their dealings with all men, and less brave in war than they were of old. But if any one should entertain an opinion contrary to my own, let him examine their deeds and he will find that these testify to the truth of my statements.]



APPENDIX I

"The manoeuvre is not quite clear because Xenophon assumes that his readers will take it for granted where the light-armed troops ("the poorest") will be stationed. The first position is :—

Cavalry and light-armed	Hoplites (1)	Hoplites (2)	Cyrus and his body-guard	Hoplites (3)	Hoplites (4)	Cavalry and light-armed
"The poorest" (1)	"The poorest" (2)	"The poorest" (3)	"The poorest" (4)			

The second position is

Cavalry and light-armed	Hoplites (2)	Cyrus and his body-guard	Hoplites (3)	Cavalry and light-armed
"The poorest" (1)	"The poorest" (2)	"The poorest" (3)	"The poorest" (4)	
Hoplites (1)			Hoplites (4)	

APPENDIX II

To make clearer the relations between Xenophon's kings in Babylon and those of Bible story and the Babylonian inscriptions, the following tables of succession are added (the vertical lines denote sonship) :—

Nabopolassar	<i>Ναβωπολάσσαρος</i>	Nabu-apal-usur (625-604 B.C.) (Nabu protect the son)
Nebuchadnezzar	<i>Νεβουχοδονόσορος</i>	Nabu-kuduri-usur (604-561 B.C.) (Nabu protect the boundary)
Evil Merodach	<i>Αμιλμαρούδοκος</i>	Amil-Marduk (561-559 B.C.) (Man of Marduk)
Neriglissar ¹	<i>Νηρεγλισσόρος</i>	Nergal-shar-usur (559-556 B.C.) (Nergal protect the king)
Labosoarchod	<i>Λαβασσούρασκος</i>	Labashi-Marduk (556 B.C.)
Nabonidus	<i>Λαβόνιδος</i>	Nabu-naid (558-538 B.C.) (Nabu is exalted)
Belshazzar	<i>Βαλτάσσαρος</i>	Bel-shar-usur (slain 539 or 538 B.C.) (Bel protect the king)

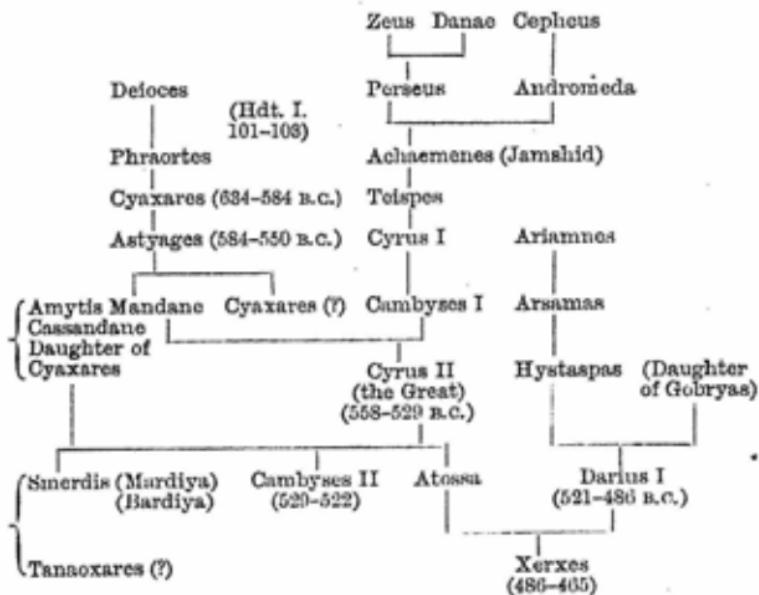
The relationship between Xenophon's "old king" and "young king" and the historical succession is not clear. His "old king" is slain in the first battle and can, therefore, be neither Nabonidus nor Belshazzar (for both (?)

¹ Neriglissar was brother to Evil-Merodach.

APPENDIX II

were in Babylon at its fall), but ought to be Labashi-Marduk. But if Labashi-Marduk were the "old king," the "young king" would be Nabonidus, and Nabonidus was not the "son" of his predecessor. By the "old king" Xenophon probably means Nabonidus, and by the "young king" Belshazzar, though the chronology is not in order, for Nabonidus was not slain in that earlier battle. There seems to be an inextricable snarl, in any case.

Cyrus's line, tabulated from his genealogy given by himself on his famous clay cylinder found in the ruins of his palace, from Xenophon's statements, and from well-known facts of history, is as follows :—



For the sake of further comparison the following striking parallels to Xenophon's story are added from two official documents of the kings themselves, discovered in the ruins of their palace :—

APPENDIX II

I. *The Nabu-naid Chronicle*: "6th year. [His troops] he collected and marched against Cyrus, King of Anshan, to conquer him. . . . The troops of Astyages rebelled against him, and, taking him prisoner, they handed him over to Cyrus. Cyrus (went) to Ecbatana, the royal city. The silver, gold, possessions, property . . . of Ecbatana they carried away as spoil, and he brought (it) to Anshan . . .

"9th year . . . In Nisan, Cyrus, King of Parsu, mustered his troops and crossed over the Tigris below Arbela. In Iyyar . . . he slew its king (and) took away its possessions. He stationed his own garrison there. After this time his garrison remained there with that of the king . . .

"17th year . . . In the month Tammuz, when Cyrus gave battle in Opis (and) on the river Salsallat to the troops of Akkad, the people of Akkad he subdued (?). Whenever the people collected themselves, he slew them. On the fourteenth day Sippar was taken without battle. Nabonidus fled. On the sixteenth day, Gobryas, the governor of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle. Nabonidus, because of his delay, was taken prisoner in Babylon. Until the end of the month, the shields of Gutium surrounded the gates of Esagila. No weapons were brought into Esagila and the other temples, and no standard was advanced. On the third day of Marcheshvan Cyrus entered Babylon. The harine lay down before him. Peace was established for the city. Cyrus proclaimed peace to all Babylon. He appointed Gobryas, his governor, governor in Babylon . . . On the night of the eleventh day of Marcheshvan, Gobryas against . . . (and) he killed the son of the king."

II. *The Cylinder of Cyrus, now in the British Museum*: "He [Marduk] searched through all lands, he saw him [Cyrus], and he sought the righteous prince, after his own heart, whom he took by the hand. Cyrus, King of Anshan, he called by name; to sovereignty over the whole world he appointed him. The country of Qutu,

APPENDIX II

all the Ummān-manda, he made submissive to him. As for the Black-headed People, whom he [Marduk] caused his [Cyrus's] hands to conquer, in justice and right he cared for them. Marduk, the great lord, guardian of his people, looked with joy on his pious works and his upright heart ; he commanded him to go to his city, Babylon, and he caused him to take the road to Babylon, going by his side as a friend and companion. His numerous troops, the numbers of which, like the waters of a river, cannot be known, in full armour, marched at his side. Without skirmish or battle he permitted him to enter Babylon. He spared his city Babylon in (its) calamity. Nabonidus, the king, who did not reverence him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, all Sumer, and Akkad, nobles and governors, prostrated themselves before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his sovereignty, showed happiness in their faces. The lord, who by his power brings the dead to life, who with (his) care and protection benefits all men —they gladly did him homage, they heeded his command. I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the powerful king, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters (of the world), son of Cambyses, the great king, King of Anshan ; grandson of Cyrus, the great king, King of Anshan ; great grandson of Teispis, the great king, King of Anshan, of ancient seed-royal, whose reign Bel and Nabu love, whose sovereignty they regard necessary to their happiness. When I made my gracious entrance into Babylon, with joy and rejoicing I took up my lordly residence in the royal palace. Marduk, the great lord, [granted] me favour among the Babylonians, and I gave daily care to his worship. My numerous troops marched peacefully into Babylon. In all Sumer and Akkad, the noble race, I permitted no unfriendly treatment. I gave proper attention to the needs of Babylon and its cities . . . the servitude, which was not honourable, was removed from them. I quieted their sighing (and) soothed their sorrow. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced over my

APPENDIX II

[pious] deeds, and he graciously blessed me, Cyrus, the king who worships him, and Cambyses, my own son, and all my troops, while we, in his presence, and with sincerity, gladly lauded his exalted [divinity]. All the kings dwelling in royal halls, of all quarters (of the world) . . . brought me their heavy taxes and in Babylon kissed my feet . . . I collected all their people and restored (them) to their dwelling-places . . ."¹

¹ The translations are from *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature, Selected Translations*, by Robert F. Harper. New York : D. Appleton and Co.

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Armenia [Armaniya], the country of the upper Euphrates and Tigris, east of Cappadocia and northwest of Media, II. i. 6; II. iv. 16, 21; subdued by the Medes, III. i. 10; a tributary of Media, II. iv. 12; III. i. 10; troops furnished, II. i. 6; at war with Chaldaea, III. i. 34; III. ii. 4; reconciled, III. ii. 17-25; a satrapy under Tanaoxares, VIII. vii. 11. Its chief mountain is Ararat. *See Armenian*

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Arsamas [Arshāma], a general under Cyrus, commanding the left wing, VI. iii. 21; VII. i. 3, 8. Probably the father of Hystaspes and grandfather of Darius I. *See Appendix II*

Artabatas, a Persian commander of chariots, VIII. iii. 18; satrap of Cappadocia, VIII. vi. 7.

Artabazus (I.), a Median noble, his ruse to get a kiss, I. iv. 27-28; IV. i. 22; VII. v. 48; aids Cyrus, IV. i. 22-24; V. i. 24-26; speaks for continuing the war, VI. i. 9-10; rebukes Araspas for his behaviour toward Panthea, VI. i. 34-35; claims a share of Cyrus's attention, VIII. v. 48-54; wins the horse-race against the Medes, VIII. iii. 25; at Cyrus's banquet, VIII. iv. 1, 12, 24, 27. Known only from the Cyropaedia. (II.), a Persian (?) in command of the light-armed troops, V. iii. 38. Artabazus is a frequently occurring name in Persian history. The first Artabazus known is the general who conducted the retreat from Plataea and later (B.C. 477-468) became satrap of Dascyleum.

Artacamas, ruler of greater Phrygia, II. i. 5; satrap, VIII. vi. 7. Possibly a vassal prince; Phrygia had no independent king at the time of Cyrus, but was a dependent of Lydia after the death of the last Midas, about 691 B.C.

Artagerses, an infantry colonel, VI. iii. 31; VII. i. 22; in the battle, VII. i. 27, 28.

Artaozus, an infantry colonel, VI. iii. 31.

Artaxerxes [Artach-shathra = possessor of exalted power] Mnemon, king of Persia (B.C. 404-358 (?)), son of Darius II, and brother of the younger Cyrus (*q.v.*), VIII. viii. 12.

Artuchas, an officer commanding Hyrcanian troops, V. iii. 38. Cyrus's guest, VIII. iv. 1, 24.

Asia, the continent, IV. ii. 2; IV. iii. 2; IV. v. 16; IV. vi. 11; V. i. 8; VI. i. 27; VIII. v. 23; VIII. vii. 7; western Asia Minor, I. i. 4; II. i. 5; VI. ii. 10; VII. ii. 11; VIII. i. 6.

Asladas, a cavalry colonel, VI. iii. 32.

Asiatic, pertaining to Asia; Greeks, tributary to Cyrus, I. i. 4; VII. iv. 9.

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Assyria [Ashshur=the well watered plain, Athura], the country lying mainly along the east bank of the middle Tigris, west of Media and Mesopotamia and extending up into the piedmont country bordering on Armenia, I. iv. 16; II. i. 5; II. iv. 17; VI. i. 17; plans world conquest, I. v. 2; invaded by Cyrus, III. ill. 22 ff.; its wealth, V. ii. 12; conquered, I. i. 4; VII. v. 53. With the destruction of Nineveh at the hands of the older Cyaxares and Nabopolassar (B.C. 607-6), Assyria, as an independent nation, had ceased to exist. By Assyria, Xenophon means the land governed by the kings of Babylon, i.e. Assyria and Babylonia.

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Babylonia, the rich valley between the lower Euphrates and Tigris, the centre of oriental power,

¹ The walls of Babylon, according to Herodotus, were 40 miles in circumference, 335 feet high, 85 feet wide at the top, and were broken by 100 gates 25 on each side. His account and Xenophon's are in keeping with the documents of Nebuchadnezzar himself, who says in the Babylon, the Winckler, and the Grotefend inscriptions: "The great walls of Babylon I set in order, and I built the wall of its moat mountain-high with burned brick and bitumen and threw it around the city for protection. . . . In the upper . . . of the city gate of Ishtar from the bank of the Euphrates up to the city gate, for the protection of the sides of the city I built with bitumen and burned brick a mighty citadel, and I laid its foundation at the water's edge in the depth of clear water. I raised its turrets mountain-high and skilfully strengthened the watch-tower and thus protected Babylon."

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¹ Herodotus (I. 46-48) tells how Croesus put the various oracles to the test to see if they could tell the truth. He sent various envoys out from

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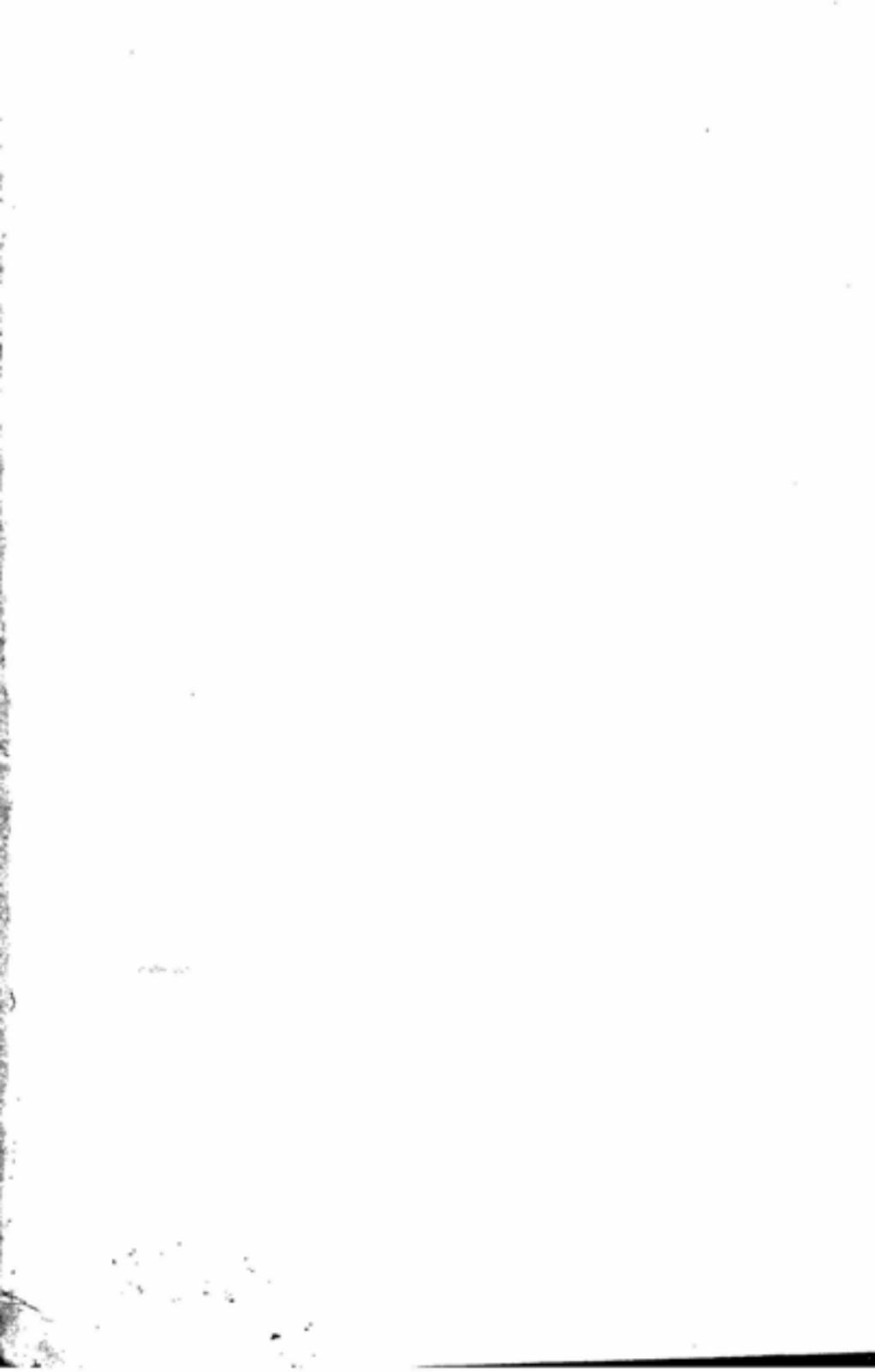
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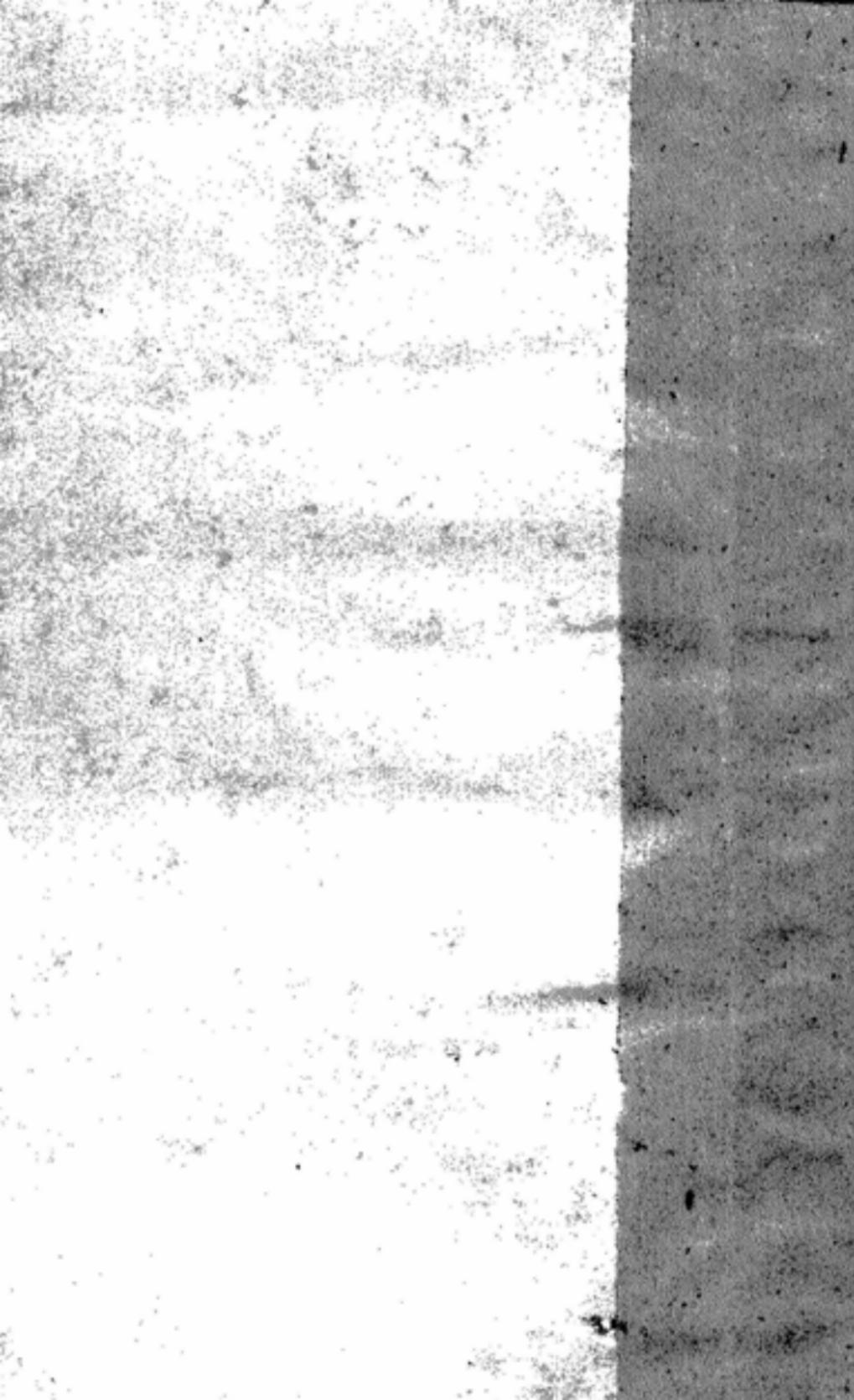




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